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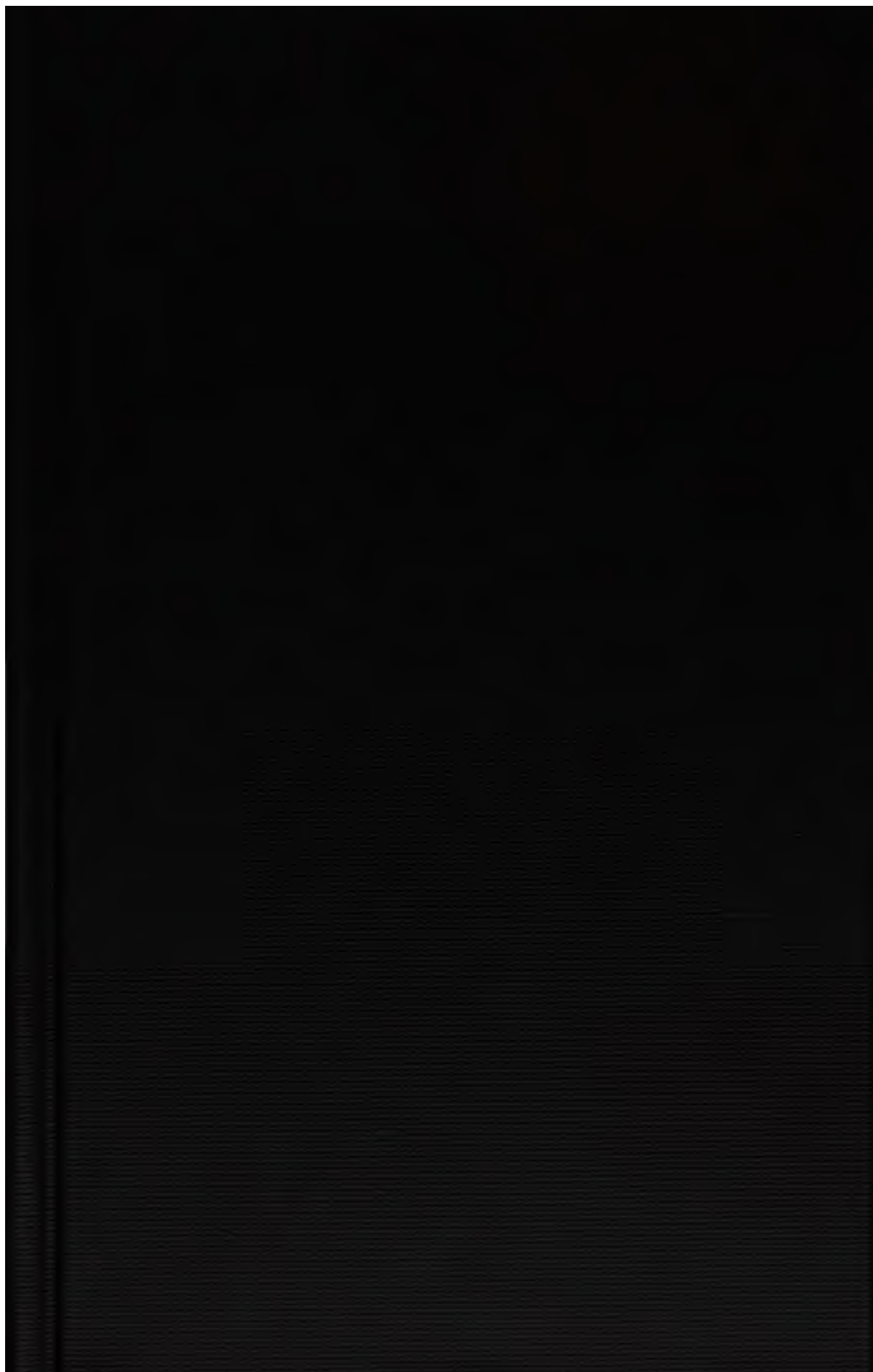
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1

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SOCIETY.

VOL. XV.

1906.



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1906

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W. H. SKINNER and W. L. NEWMAN

THE Society is formed to promote the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History and Antiquities of the Polynesian races, by the publication of an official journal, to be called "THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY," and by the collection of books, manuscripts, photographs, relics, and other illustrations of the history of the Polynesian race.

The term "Polynesia" is intended to include Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Malaysia, as well as Polynesia proper.

Candidates for admission to the Society shall be admitted on the joint recommendation of a member of the Society and a member of the Council, and on the approval of the Council.

Every person elected to membership shall receive immediate notice of the same from the Secretaries, together with a copy of the Rules, and on payment of his subscription of one pound shall be entitled to all the benefits of membership. Subscriptions are payable in advance, on the 1st January of each year, or on election.

Papers will be received on any of the above subjects if sent through a member. Authors are requested to write only on one side of the paper, to use quarto paper, and to leave one inch margin on the left-hand side, to allow of binding. Proper names should be written in ROMAN TYPE.

The price of back numbers of the Journal, to members, is 2s 6d.

Vols. i, ii, iii, and iv are out of print.

Members and exchanges are requested to note that the Society's Office is at New Plymouth, to which all communications, books, exchanges, &c., should be sent, addressed to Hon. Secretaries.



VOL. XV.—1906.

MEMBERS OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

AS AT 1ST JANUARY, 1906.

The sign * before a name indicates an original member or founder.

As this list will be published annually, the Secretaries would feel obliged if members will supply any on lesions, or notify change of residence.

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1899-1900—J. H. Pope.
1901-1903—E. Tregear, F.R.H.S., &c.
1904-1906—S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S.



LIST OF EXCHANGES.

THE following is the list of Societies, &c., &c., to which the JOURNAL is sent, and from most of which we receive exchanges. There is a tacit understanding that several Public Institutions are to receive our publications free, so long as the New Zealand Government allows our correspondence, &c., to go free by post.

Agent-General of New Zealand, 18 Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
Anthropologische, Ethnographische, etc., etc., Gesellschaft, Vienna, Austria.
Anthropologie, Société d', 15, Rue Ecole de Medicin, Paris.
Anthropologia, Museo Zoologica, Florence, Italy.
Anthropological Society of Australia, c/o Board of International Exchanges
Sydney.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, 3 Hanover Square, London, W.
Anthropologie, Ecole d', 15 Rue Ecole de Medicin, Paris.
Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, University, Sydney.
Aute (Te) Students Association, The College, Te Aute, Hawke's Bay, N.Z.
American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, Newhaven, Conn., U.S.A.

Bataviaasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.
Buddhist Text Society, 86/2 Jaun Bazaar Street, Calcutta.
Blenheim Literary Institute, Blenheim, N.Z.
Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, H.I.

Canadian Institute, 46 Richmond Street East, Toronto.
Cambridge Philosophical Society, Cambridge, England.

Ethnological Survey, Manila, Philippine Islands

Faculté des Sciences de Marseilles, Marseilles, France.

General Assembly Library, Wellington, N.Z.
Géographie, Société de, de Paris, Boulevard St. Germain 184, Paris.

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Institute, The New Zealand, Wellington, N.Z.
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Japan Society, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.

Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitete Akademien, Stockholm, Sweden
Koninklijk Instituut, 14, Van Galenstraat, The Hague, Holland.

Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.

Museum, Christchurch.
Museum, The Australian, Sydney.
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Minister, Hon. The Colonial Secretary, Wellington.

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Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Brisbane.

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Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 87 Park Street, Calcutta.

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Secretary (Under) Justice (Native), Wellington.

University of California, Berkeley, California.

Wisconsin Academy of Science and Arts, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.



ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

Held at New Plymouth, N.Z., 30th January, 1906.

THE usual annual meeting was held as above at the Borough Council office, the President (Mr. S. Percy Smith) in the chair, the following members being present:—Messrs. J. B. Roy, R. C. Hughes, O. Samuel, M. Fraser, F. P. Corkill, W. Kerr, W. L. Newman, and W. H. Skinner.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, together with the annual report and balance-sheet, were read and confirmed, and ordered to be printed in the next *Journal*.

A ballot was taken for three members of the Council who retire under Rule 5, which resulted in Messrs. Kerr, Parker, and Skinner retiring.

The following officers for the ensuing year were elected:—

President—S. Percy Smith.

Council—W. Kerr, J. H. Parker, and W. H. Skinner.

Secretary—W. H. Skinner.

Auditor—W. D. Webster.

On the motion of Mr. Samuel, seconded by Mr. Roy, the Council were instructed to communicate with the authorities of the proposed Technical School, with a view of trying to arrange for a room for the library.

A vote of thanks to the officers of the Society terminated the proceedings.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1905.

Presented at the Annual Meeting, 30th January, 1906, in terms of Rule No. 31.

THE Council of the Society has pleasure in reporting to the annual meeting for the fourteenth time since the foundation of the Society. Nothing very prominent has marked the year just passed, except the loss of some prominent members through death. Amongst these must be mentioned Captain F. W. Hutton, F.B.S., Curator of the Canterbury Museum, who died on the voyage out from England, on his return from a well-deserved holiday. Not only the Society, but New Zealand at large, loses in him a man who occupied the highest rank on the roll of our scientific men. The Hon. Captain C. W. A. T. Kenny, M.L.C., also passed away during the year after a lengthened period of ill-health. He was one of our original members, and a genial, kindly gentleman of a high stamp. We have also had four resignations during the year, three of whom were original members. It is of course natural that our original members must in process of time disappear from our roll. Out of the 110 original members who formed the Society in 1892 there are only 46 now left. Some members names have also been

struck off for non-payment of their subscriptions, so that on the 1st January, 1906, our members stood as follows :—

Patron	1
Honorary members	9
Corresponding members	16
Ordinary members	166
Total	192

This shows an increase of only three members during the year, which is not, we think, as it should be, when it is considered that this Society is really doing what in most other countries is done by their Governments—*i.e.*, the preservation and publication of original documents connected with the history of the country and with the race which preceded our occupation. In the publication of our quarterly *Journal*, and the incidental expenses connected with the carrying on of the Society since its foundation, we have expended a sum of £2145 (including about £290 paid to Capital Account). For this expenditure we have published fourteen volumes of "Transactions and Proceedings," the value of which are acknowledged, more particularly by the societies with which we exchange publications. It is obvious this could not have been accomplished without the aid of many writers, who, together with the officers of the Society, have given their services gratuitously. The only assistance the Society has had has been the concession made by the New Zealand Government in allowing our postal matter to go free to all parts of the British Empire. Without this concession our balance-sheet for the last twelve months would have been on the wrong side.

A subject that causes the Council some anxiety is our library. Through the kindness of the Borough Council of New Plymouth the larger part of our books, &c., are given free storage; but they increase in volume so rapidly that there is no longer space for them in the Borough Council Chamber, and all the later additions to the library are stored with the President or Secretaries, and are therefore not available for reference. What the Council would be glad to see is a room provided in which all our books and documents could be placed in proper order, with accommodation for those who might wish to avail themselves of the many valuable works the library contains. During the last year Mr. Harry Skinner has rearranged part of the books and commenced a catalogue of them.

The supply of original papers continues, many of them in Maori, which require translation. These latter are of especial value. It is to be regretted, however, that we receive so few papers from outside New Zealand, for the Council does not desire to see our Transactions become of too local a character. There are many gentlemen within the area defined by the term "Polynesia" in our rules who are quite capable of adding largely to our *Journal*.

The treasurer's accounts attached hereto show the total receipts (inclusive of balance brought forward) to be £203 11s 3d, and the expenditure to be £198 5s 7d, leaving a balance in hand of £10 5s 9d towards next year's expenditure. The Capital Account now stands at £106 17s 5d. This fund has only once been drawn on during the past fourteen years—*viz.*, in copying Mr. Christian's long list of words in several dialects of Indonesia and Polynesia, and part of the sum spent in this work has been refunded to the Capital Account. It was originally started to provide means for publishing special memoirs.

We are, as usual, indebted to Mr. R. Coupland Harding for the compilation of the index to the last volume, and also to Mr. W. D. Webster for auditing our accounts.

BALANCE SHEET OF SOCIETY.

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

BALANCE-SHEET FOR YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1905.

1905			1905		
RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
Jan.	1—To	£ s. d.	Dec. 31—By	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Balance at Bank of N.S.	41 3 9	Whitecombe & Tombs, Publishing <i>Journals</i> —		
	Wales		No. 3 of Vol. xiii.	37 3 11	
Dec. 31—	Members' subscriptions	144 5 0	No. 4 of Vol. xiii.	41 1 6	
	Sale of <i>Journals</i> ..	18 2 6	No. 1 of Vol. xiv.	36 18 3	
		162 7 6	No. 2 of Vol. xiv.	36 10 0	
			No. 3 of Vol. xiv.	35 14 4	187 8 0
			Dawson & Son, engravers ..	0 10 6	
			Insurance prem's on library	2 7 6	
			Skinner, H., rearranging library		
			and starting Catalogue	1 0 0	
			Postages, etc. ..	1 9 6	
			Bank charges ..	0 10 0	5 17 6
			Balance at Bank N.S: Wales ..		10 5 9
		<u>£208 11 3</u>			<u>£208 11 3</u>

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

1905			1905		
Jan.	1—Balance	£ s. d.	Dec. 31—By	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	brought forward	102 9 8	Invested with Wellington Trust Loan Co.	73 18 8	
Dec. 31—	Interest Wellington Trust Loan Co.	3 3 0	" N.P. Savings Bank	32 18 9	
	Interest New Plymouth Savings Ban	1 4 9			
		<u>£106 17 5</u>			<u>£106 17 5</u>

Examined and found correct—WILLIAM D. WEBSTER, Auditor.
New Plymouth, 23rd January, 1906.

W. H. SKINNER,
Hon. Sec. and Treasurer Polynesian Society.



The Journal of the Polynesian Society

VOL. XV., 1906.

THE LORE OF THE WHARE-KOHANGA.

BY ELSDON BEST.

PART II.

PREGNANCY.

Rapou, a term applied to the first pregnancy of a woman, and to the woman herself at such a time. It is not applied to a second pregnancy, nor yet to the woman when pregnant with her second child. The term appears to denote the excessive *tapu* a woman of rank is under when with child for the first time, and would possibly be an outcome of the strict law of primogeniture recognised, and upheld, by the Maori of old. The first-born child of such a woman was a very *tapu*, and a very important person. After birth, the *tapu* would be lifted from mother and child by means of the *tua* rite. This ceremony would not take the *tapu* wholly from the child, but sufficiently so to allow of its being handled and nursed by other women.

When it became known that such a woman was pregnant with her first child, then the priest would make her *tapu* by means of a certain rite and invocation (*Ka whakaraupoutia e te tohunga kia tapu*).

In former times, when a woman was *rapou*, she sometimes lived apart from others, but not so in all cases. Still, she would be under certain restrictions and rules during such period. For instance, she

was not allowed to have her hair cut, lest the child be *rehe* (*rehe* = *korehe* = *pukiki* = stunted). There do not appear to have been any restrictions as to her food, although there might be certain foods she would have a distaste for at such a time, or, as the Maori puts it, the child might be afraid of certain foods, and hence the pregnant woman would also take a dislike to such foods, and decline to partake of them. On the other hand, she might desire, or yearn (*kumāmā*) for certain foods, which would probably be procured for her.

The following singular remark occurs in a native manuscript sent to me:—"A child is born. The elders go to see it, and one of them remarks—*I raho pou tonu koe i te pouri; kua puta koe ki te ao marama.*"

When a woman is pregnant, she often expresses a wish for some of the more delicate foods, such as birds, and such will be procured and prepared for her. If it is seen that she eats of the wings, neck, etc., only, it is known that the child she bears is a male. But if she eats the body of the bird, then, it is said, the child is a female.

In the story of Whakitapui, we read:—"Ka puta te hiakai taro o te wahine ra, notemea, e ahua ana tana tamaiti i roto i a ia." The woman had a desire to eat taro, for her child was quickening within her. Be clear, it is the child in the womb who has such a desire for a certain food according to the Maori.

In many cases, when it was announced that a woman of rank had conceived, the people of the village would collect in the *marae*, or *plaza*, in order to congratulate her, her husband, and their elders, on the event.

Or, when a woman in that condition feels the child move within her, that is a sign of approaching bad weather, a rain storm is toward. A red or flushed face in a pregnant woman is said to denote that the child she bears is a female.

"A pregnant woman. She takes the child of another woman in her arms and nurses it—*na, ka takatu tana puku*, the child within her moves, which means that it is hostile to the child she is nursing. And she knows that, if the child she is nursing be a male, then her own will be a female. If a female, her own is a male."

Supposing that there are two pregnant women in the district, one here, and another at a different village. When the latter woman begins to feel the pains of labour (*whakamamae*), the knowledge of it

will reach the child in the womb of the woman here, and the child will move within her. Now, when that other child is born and the news arrives that it is, say, a male, it is then known that this one will be a female, and *vice versa*. Such are some of the singular beliefs of these people; we shall note many more such old-time ideas as we proceed.

The *wairua* (spirit) of a child is, according to several of my authorities, implanted by the male parent during coition.* "I think," said a worthy old friend of mine, "that the *wairua* is implanted during sexual connection. We do not know where this spirit comes from, but I think that the spirit (*wairua*) of an ancestor may thus be implanted in a child, because see how often a child resembles a grandparent, or ancestor."

If a *we* (the mantis insect) is seen upon a woman, it is a sign that she has conceived and, according to which kind of *we* it is, people know whether the child be a male or a female. There are two creatures termed *we* by the natives. One is wingless, but is bountifully supplied with legs, and is often found on the *manuka* tree. The other has wings, and is found on logs, especially so on the prostrate trunks of *tawa*.

If a woman desires to bear a male child, having possibly already borne several female children, she will make it her business to be on hand when a birth takes place in the neighbourhood. If the child, when born, turns out to be a male, she will wait until the *whenua*, or afterbirth, has been discharged, and she will then proceed to *piki* the same, that is, she will stand over it for a while, with a foot on either side of it. This singular act is said to have the desired effect, it is termed *piki whenua*. Barren women also had recourse to it.

It has been said that the natives thought sterility to proceed from the woman, but it would appear that they recognised the fact that a man may be impotent, having noted childless women, supposed to be barren, bear children to another husband. At least, they admit now a belief in male impotency. (See Trans. N. Z. Institute, Vol. XIV. p. 471, for an able article on native sterility).

Sometimes a ceremony was performed, and *karakia* (charms, incantations) repeated, over a woman, in order to render her sterile, that she might cease to bear children. This, however, would not

* See Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IX. pp. 184-185.

often be done. One Paora Horomata, of Tuhoe, was a famous adept at this rite (known as *whakapa*), but the *karakia* used by him was not ancient, being a part of the ritual of Hauhauism of modern times. His method is said to have been effective. Women who were tired of bearing children and wished to stop conception would go to him when near lying-in, so that they might give birth to the child at, or near, his home. He would be summoned at the birth of the child, and he would take some of the blood passed by the mother, which he would cast into a small fire he himself kindled, repeating at the same time his charm (*karakia*). He used no medicines in his method. I am, however, not clear that this was an ancient rite. It may be modern.

The Maori would appear to have grasped the idea of active and passive agents in generation, as in magic. He speaks of the male organ and its function as being the active agent in generation, and the female organ as being a *whare moenga*, i.e. passive, receptive.

As to the period of the year during which fecundations were most plentiful in former times, I have, as yet, no notes to put on record.

According to some native authorities, the sex of a child was determined after conception.

We will now proceed to view that singular rite of the pseudo-science of the *tohunga*, or priests, of old, known as *whakato tamariki*, a causing of children to be conceived. (*To*=pregnant, be conceived. *whaka*=a causative prefix). In this case, the desired conception is said to have been brought about by means of external influences, and the efficacy of the strange rite is still believed in by many of the natives now living. These influences were the invocations of the priest, and the *mana* (influence, supernatural power) of certain objects which, for want of a better term, I would call phallic, such as trees and stones. These objects appear to have been emblems of the generative power, or principle, in nature, hence the above term may be applied to them.

The following is one of the methods formerly employed in order to cause a woman to conceive, when she was apparently barren (*pūkūpā*). She would consult the village priest, who would give her instructions how to act. First she would obtain a handful of the fragrant grass termed *karetu* (*Hierochloe redolens*), and insert therein a portion of her *paraheka* or her *tatea* (see *ante*). She would

then hand the bunch of grass over to the priest, who would take it to the *wai karakia*, or "sacred waters" of the village settlement, at which many different rites were performed. At that place the priest would perform his peculiar rite, repeating over the bunch of grass the following invocation (*karakia*) to cause the woman's sterility to fall away from her, and to make her conceive :—

"Ka whakato au i a koe ki a Papa-tuanuku
 Kia puta mai a Papa-tuarangi
 Kia niwha i roto i a koe
 Kia puta mai i roto i a koe
 Ko wairua whai ao
 Ko wairua tangata
 Ko Tu-ka-niwha, ko Tu-ka-riri
 Ko Tu whai ao
 Ko Rongo-ma-Tane
 Kia puta i roto ko Tu-mata-uenga
 Kia mau ki te rakau
 To rakau poto, to rakau roa
 I puta ana mai
 Ko Wahieroa na Tawhaki
 Ka horohoroa i runga
 Ka horohoroa i raro
 Ka puta ana ki waho ko Te Hapu-oneone
 Ka whanau i roto i a te hapu
 Na Tiki-nui, na Tiki-roa, na Tiki-apoa
 Na Tiki-tahito, na Tiki-hou
 Ka pa ki te ruahine
 I a kahau ki waho
 I a kahau ki uta
 I a kahau matire rau."

The above is the form of charm, or invocation, used should a male child be desired. If a female child is wanted, then instead of the name of Rongo-ma-tane, that of Rongo-mai-wahine is inserted, and the lines following it are altered so as to apply to a female, whose labours were dedicated to Hine-te-iwaiwa, that is, to weaving and the various domestic duties. Male children were dedicated to the service of Tu, the god of war.

When the marriage feast, known as the *kai kotore*, was held, the priest recited over the young couple an invocation termed *ohaoha*, in order to preserve their physical and spiritual welfare, as also to cause the woman to be fruitful. It often occurred that the sisters of the bride would decline to eat of the food of the particular oven termed the *umu kotore*, which was prepared for such relatives only, lest they become sterile (*koi purua*).

In regard to phallic trees. A famous one of these parts is a *hinau* tree, known as Te Iho-o-Kataka, which stands on a ridge in

the forest at O-Haua-te-rangi, Rua-tahuna, near the Whakatane river. Native tradition asserts that one Ira-Kewa, who came to New Zealand in some unknown manner, before the arrival of the Matatua canoe, endowed this tree with its singular power. He placed upon it the *iho*, or umbilical cord, of Kataka, a daughter of Tane-atua. When Tane-atua, in after years, was exploring up the Whakatane valley, and performing some wondrous deeds *en route*, he happened to find himself upon the aforesaid ridge, and, being weary, he sat himself down beneath this *hinau* tree to rest awhile. Observing that the tree was laden with berries, he stretched forth his hand to pluck some, when the fruit spoke softly, saying, "*Kaua ahau e kainga, no te mea ko te iho ahau o Kataka*"—"Do not eat of me, for I am the *iho* of Kataka." Whereupon Tane left that fruit severely alone, which was doubtless a wise act on his part. Moreover, he placed on the tree the *iho* of another of his famous children, thrusting it into a crevice of the bark, repeating at the same time the following couplet:—

"Ko whakairihia ahau
Ka whakato tamariki ahau."

(I am suspended. I will cause children to be conceived.)

"Hence the famed *hinau* at O-Haua-te-rangi became possessed of the power of causing children to be conceived. And ever has it been known as Te Iho-o-Kataka. And down through succeeding generations has the custom held of depositing the severed umbilical cords (*iho*) of our children at that tree. While from Tane-atua to myself are nineteen generations of men. When *iho* were deposited there, at that tree, they were wrapped in a piece of *aute* (bark cloth, made from *Broussonetia papyrifera*), or in leaves of the *rau-kawa* (*Panax*, an odoriferous shrub). And the eastern side of that tree, the side towards the rising sun, is its male side, while the western is the female side."

When a woman did not conceive after marriage, and it was arranged that the virtues of the above tree should be utilised, she would proceed thither, accompanied by her husband and a priest or wise elder. If she desired a male child, she would clasp the eastern, or male, side of the tree with her arms; if a female child, then she would clasp the western, or female side. Meanwhile the priest would be repeating the necessary invocation, that the rite might prove successful. I am informed by the greybeards of Tuhoe that this was a most efficacious method of causing conception in a woman apparently sterile. Several persons of these tribes have been pointed out as having been born into the world through

the agency of the *hinau* tree of Tane-atua, among them being Ramariha, Pahi, Tamarau Waiari, Hiriwa, and Te Ai-ra-te-hinau.

It is stated by the Ngati-Manawa tribe, of the Galatea district, that another phallic tree, named Te Hunahuna-a-Pou, situated near Te Horomanga-a-Pou stream, has similar virtues to those of Te Iho-o-Kataka. This tree has two large branches, or divisions of the trunk, the eastern one being the *peka tane*, or male branch, while the western one is the *peka wahine*, or female branch. The husband here takes a twig or piece of bark from the male, or female branch, as desired, and places it under the body of his wife, before coition takes place.

Another account, however, shows a much more risky mode of procedure, as it relates that the priest would not allow the woman to see the tree, but made her approach it with her eyes closed, and she would embrace that part of the tree which she happened to encounter. One side of the tree was dry and dead, the other side being still green and living. Should the woman chance to encounter the green, living side of the tree, she would surely conceive. But if she embraced the dry side, then would she still remain sterile. Evidently this was an inferior sort of phallic tree. I would beg to recommend Te Iho-o-Kataka.

Colonel Gudgeon mentions another phallic tree, named Te Puta-tieke, situated at O-tara, near O-potiki.

At Kawhia, on the west coast of the North Island, is a phallic stone, named Uenuku-tu-whatu, which possesses similar powers.

A noticeable feature in the modern life of the Maori is the ever increasing lack of fertility among the young women of the race. This is not so noticeable by the casual observer, on account of the custom which obtains among childless married women, of adopting one or more of those of her relatives whose quivers are better stocked. But when engaged in the task of making out the genealogies of all living members of the Tuhoe tribe, I was enabled to note the great number of couples, many of them young people, to whom no children have been born, from which it may be inferred that the above described rites and phallic emblems have lost their virtues in these days of the *pakeha*. The birth rate of the Tuhoe tribe is very low, and the cause of this decadence probably lies in the changes wrought in social conditions, etc., by the advent and settlement of Europeans in this land.

During the year 1904 only 63 births were registered as having occurred among the natives of the Matatua district, which includes the three tribes of Tuhoe, Ngati-Awa, and Te Whakatohea. The

deaths registered for the same district during that period numbered 47. The native population of the district is about 4,000.

Whare ngaro. This expression implies the death of all children of a couple, leaving them entirely without offspring. The term is not applied to lines of descent broken through the infertility of women, or by a person not marrying. This affliction of a *whare ngaro*, or "lost house," is said to emanate from dead and gone ancestors, or to have been caused by witchcraft. When parents lost by death their first child, they would get the priest to perform the *tu ora* (or *kawa ora*) rite over the next child born to them, in order that the threatened *whare ngaro* might be averted, and the child survive. In the Rua-tahuna district, of late, several women, whose children had died in infancy, and hence who feared a *whare ngaro*, were not allowed to eat of any food which had come from Rua-toki, inasmuch as the infliction is thought to have had its origin at that place. These women were afterwards taken to Rua-toki, where some rite was performed over them, in order that the cause of the children's death might be destroyed (*ka tahuna ana mate e te tohunga*—the priest destroyed those afflictions).

Sterility in women, which is termed *pukupā*, has come to be recognised as quite an institution among the Tuhoe women, nor does it appear that infanticide is practised, and abortion but seldom.

Before leaving the subject of sterility, there is one other item to be mentioned, and which, for want of a better term, I have termed sooterkin. This is an image, in human form, and usually made of wood, which barren women sometimes carried and nursed, as though it were a child. These images were often dressed up in native clothing, and were also adorned with ornaments. Among some tribes these little images were termed *whakapakoko*, a word meaning "image." In some cases a stone was so dressed and carried as a sooterkin, and even potatoes were sometimes so utilised.

I knew a native woman on the East coast who, being childless, used to nurse a young pig in her arms, as a substitute. Wherever she went the little pig accompanied her, sometimes carried in her arms, at others it would be seen trotting along behind her.

It is stated, in several works on the Maori, that these images were looked upon as gods, and also, by some writers, that they were carried in order to cause the bearers to conceive. The natives of Tuhoe-land, however, do not seem to have deemed them gods, nor yet believe that they held the power of causing conception. It seems to have been here simply the result of the unsatisfied mother instinct. In that somewhat untrustworthy work, "*Te Ika a Maui*," the author speaks of these images as household gods, and seems to

believe that they were carried for the same purpose that barren women of divers races carried, or invoked, the phallus, as a symbol of the active agent in generation.

Women who nursed and petted these singular objects were wont to compose and sing songs (*oriori*, or lullabies) over them, precisely as they did to children. When Maikara, a woman of Ngati-Manawa, of the Galatea district, cast about for an object to nurse as a child, she, like unto Rhea of old, selected a stone, over which she used to sing the following *oriori*, composed by herself for the occasion :—

“ Mataotao ana te panga mai o te kiri
 O tenei tamaiti ingoa kore
 I peheatia i puta ai ki waho
 I whakawherakatia e taku potiki
 Ki a Uruhanga, ki a Hika-waha
 I to pouri kerekere
 I te po roa i raru ai Wairaka
 Kaore raia, E tama !
 He mahinga kai ma taua
 E tupu ai ki te ao
 Naumai ! Whakapiki whakarunga
 To nohoanga kai te keu
 Ki te tonga o Rua-wahia
 Kia marama koe te titiro ki te mata kurae
 Ka kokiritia ki waho ko Te Ngaere
 Hoe ake ki muri ki to tuara
 Te rongo kai i te oneone i waiho e o tipuna
 Kai te umu e tao ano to koroua
 Hokahoka i o waewae
 I te tomokanga kai Tahau
 Kai piki ke koe i O-rangi-taupea
 Kai heke ke koe i O-tama-potiki
 Kai whakahaehengia koe e Marepa
 E hara tena ma waho tonu
 Ma te rerenge o Tu-whakahoro-ahu
 Okioki rawa atu ko te taumata
 I Tuhanga-upoko
 Kati ! Ko to kanohi e whai te titiro
 Ki te hiwi ki te paeroa
 E kumekumea ana to ngakau
 E te roa o te whenua
 Ui mai ki ahau, ko hea te maunga
 I tiketike ki runga ?
 Ko O-porou, ko Puke-wehea
 Ka papa takitini ki raro ki te oneone
 Ka ahiahi to ra e haere ana
 Whakanehua tonutia
 I te titahatanga ki Raumati-rua
 Ko te ara ra tena, E tama !
 I horahia mai ai te kura i te ruru
 He taha raukawa na to kuia
 I poua mai i te Tokari

JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

Ko rurea koa i whakahaua i te ata
E kani nei te hau maranga mate
Ki to tuakana . . . na!
E tama . . . E!"

The stone used by Maikara as described above, was afterwards utilised as a *mauri*, and located up the Rangi-taiki river. A *mauri* is a sort of talisman which, by means of a certain rite, is endowed with a supernatural power to protect and preserve the vitality, productiveness, etc., of forests and streams, as also man. In Vol. X., p. 22, of the Journal of the Polynesian Society will be found a description of the *mauri*.

About five generations ago, one Moenga, a woman of the Tuhoe tribe, despairing of ever having children, selected a large potato (*riwai*), which she dressed and nursed as a child. However, in after days, she gave birth to a male child, and named him Tama-riwai (the potato-child), in memory of the sooterkin. And the "potato-child" developed into a famous warrior, who fought on the red fields of Orona and Puke-kai-kāhu, where Taupo and the Tiaki-tutu sank in death.

The following is another song (*oriori*=lullaby), composed by Harehare, of the Pu Taewa, and was also sung to a stone child:—

"E moe ana ano te kohatu i tona moenga . . . popo!
Naku i hiko mai . . . popo!
He matawara noku ki te whanau tamariki . . . popo!
Me kawē koe ki Hauturu-te-rangi . . . popo!
Ki te kahu whakatarā i Opapa . . . popo!
Ka pā ianei ko te makariri . . . popo!
Me wheuru (? whakauru) koe ki te tama na Kahu-parawai . . . popo!
To tomokanga na ko te Kotipu . . . popo
To mania roa ko Kai-whitiwhiti . . . popo
Tena ra to tipuna Maoho-kai-tangata . . . popo!
E kimi ana i nga hikahikanga o Tangi-haruru
Ki to ingoa whakahuatia ki a Manawa-kahikatoa . . . popo!
Kahikatoa . . . popo!
Hāi kawē i a koe . . . popo
Nga ngutu māioro ki Okarea . . . popo!
E tu i kona, ka titiro ki nga hau o te rangi . . . popo
Tenei ano au te takoto nei . . . popo!
Ko te Paki-o-hewa ka ahei ai . . . popo!"

Another woman of the district, being childless, selected a potato having singular protuberances, and, having fashioned the same into the form of a child, she dressed it up and suspended round its neck a scented necklet (*hei tarata*). This strange object she nursed, as a child is nursed, and sung over it the following song:—

"Aue! Aue!
Pakipaki kau au ki te tuakiri o te whare
Kai hea te mea i huaratini

E taku kuru pounamu
 Whakaputa, E tama! Ki waho ra
 Tomokia e koe ki te whare
 I to tuahine, i a Te Paina
 Kia whakauhia koe ki te Rau o Papoua
 Ka pai taku mea te haere
 To pikitanga kai Wai-pokaia
 Ka kitea mai koe e to papa
 E Haere-huki
 Hai karanga mai . . Naumai! E tama!
 Tenei nga mahi a Rua kai ro te kete
 Kihai i takiritia ki waho ra
 Mau e ki hohoro te karanga
 Nau mai, nau ake
 Takahia te one ki Te Ara-aka
 Ma Te Atiawa e whakatangi ki te rapa
 Waiho e tohu, E tama!
 Mo te kore i to iwi mokai
 Ka riro te karanga pa wawe ki tawhiti
 Ka papa takitini te taumata ki Kapu ra
 Kati! Ka hoki mai taku mea ki ahau . . e!"

The following song was composed by a woman named Hine-i-turama,* who used to sing it to her "stone child," as my informant put it. In after years it came to be used as a *rangi poi*, i.e., a time song for the game of *poi* :—

"E noho ana ano i tona taumata, i Tihei
 E papaki kau ana te paihau o te manu
 Kei tata mai ki taku taha
 E poi ana te tara i raro
 Kia riro mai taku ipu kai ra
 Ko Te Heuheu
 I whakatapua ki te aha te hau tapa
 Tikapo au anake e kai nei i te roro o Takeke
 Kai atu, whakairihia ki te patanga
 Kai atu patanga ko te kai ra i korongatia
 Te ngakau ko Tukino
 Kia utaina ki te tiwai, e hoe au ki tawhiti
 Ki au i tauhou au ko Whakaari
 Ki te puke tapuku Paepae-o-Aotea†
 Kia takahia atu te moana o Kupe
 Ki Whangara ko Matioro
 Ka toi au ki Hawaiki
 Ki te kai ra i rauri (rari) noa mai
 Te raweketia e te ringaringa
 Me whakatangi te korowhiti ki Tauri-toatoa
 Ki a Te Ngahue ki Matakawa
 Ki a Te Pori-o-te-rangi
 Ko te au ra i nohoia e te takupu o te Whai-a-Paoa
 Kia ope noa te kutikuti

* Hine was the wife of Te Huri-nui, of Te Arawa.

† The Paepae-o-Aotea is the name of a rocky islet near Whakaari, or White Island.

Kia ope noa te whakairoiro
 Hai maru haerenga mo maua
 Ko taku tamaiti poriro
 Mo Tu-wairua, mo paki kau noa mai
 E te ngutu o te tangata
 Nau mai hoki ra, E te iwi!
 Kia kite koe i te whare whanaunga tamariki
 Ka whakaarorangi tenei ki Tikirau
 Ki a Te Putahou
 Kia tawaria taku tua
 Ki te kope rawhiti ki tae iho
 Me kore te matarae i Whanga-paraoa
 Ko Te Wewehi-o-te-rangi
 E aki kau ana te tai ki Ahuriri
 Ka tika tutuki te koranga
 Ki te kaha makau rau
 Ki a te hoa a Tiki,
 Ko te rawa hoki e Whata
 I whakairia ai toku teke mai
 Tutakina na mata kia karapipiti
 Ako rawa ake ki te ai a te tui
 Ko te ngutu koikoia
 Na kete tahora mo kai
 Toku whaea i riro atu na
 I waiho ai hai hikihihi taua
 Ki te ihu o Pana-nui
 Ko te hapu pararaki to Peha taua
 Te kiri wharauna ki te whare
 Na to poriro au na
 I moe atu aku kanohi ki a Tu-korehu
 Ki te hunga nana i takitaki taku mate
 Kia ea Wai-pohue
 Kati ra te whakakeke na i te patanga
 Huataki tini te hapai o taitai a Maui
 Kia tihao atu te tihi ki Tongariro kia matotoru
 E rua aku ringa ki te hara mai
 Ki te aitanga a Tuwharetoa
 Hai kai . . e!"

It is stated by some that the stone child in this case was a myth and that our friend Hine was a *puhi*, who, having misbehaved herself, fled to the forest in order to give birth to her child, where she was found by searchers, who overheard her singing the above song to her child, Tu-Wairua.

ABORTION (*Whakatahe* or *Kuka*).

According to Maori belief, premature birth was usually caused by some infringement of the laws of *tapu* on the part of the mother, and for which she would be thus punished by the gods. When a woman, in former times, desired to procure abortion on herself, she would proceed to *taiki* the foetus, that is, she would pollute a *tapu* person, as a priest, or one of her elders, by passing some cooked food over

his garment, or his resting place. Or she might take a portion of cooked food to some sacred place, and there eat it. Such acts would, to the native mind, be deemed quite sufficient to cause a miscarriage. Generally speaking, when a woman noticed that she was *papuni*, i.e., that menstruation had stopped, and she knew that she had conceived, and, moreover, wished to procure abortion, she would probably proceed to some sacred place, as the *tuahu*, where priests performed various religious rites, and she would pluck some herb there growing and, applying the same to her mouth, would then cast it away. That would be quite sufficient, she has "eaten," or polluted, a sacred place. The gods will attend to her case.

There is a considerable amount of danger to man attached to abortion, so say the Maori people, inasmuch as the foetus is liable to develop into a most malignant demon (*atua*), which afflicts man grievously in divers ways, and is much dreaded. Such a caco-dæmon is termed an *atua kahu* or *kahukahu*. It is the spirit (*wairua*) of the foetus which thus developes into a mischievous and dangerous demon. The term *kahu* is applied to the membrane which covers the foetus, as also is *whakakahu*.

It is in this way. When a case of abortion occurs, the foetus is taken away and buried. Now, should it so happen that a dog, or pig, finds, and resurrects, and eats the foetus, then the spirit of the same will enter into the animal, which thus becomes an *atua ngau tangata*, or man-afflicting demon. Or this evil spirit may be conciliated by some person, and utilised as a war god. For an exhaustive description of such a development, see the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. VI., p. 41.

It is singular to note that the spirit of a stillborn child is, to the Maori mind, always an evil one, and a power for evil only, never for good.

When a person is afflicted by one of these evil spirits, he hies him to the *tohunga*, or priest, who proceeds to exorcise the same by means of a certain rite and invocation. The afflicted person probably knows not what ails him, but, being ill, he consults the priest, who, being a seer, will soon locate the cause. He will then say:—"Your affliction is a *kahu*." He will probably also know which woman produced that cause, and, on his asking her, she will admit it, and say that she buried it at a certain place, or threw it into a stream. The famous Tuhoean war god Te Rehu-o-Tainui was an *atua kahu*, which came from a still born child which had been cast into a stream, and was eaten by the small fish named *titarakura*. Hence that fish was possessed by the evil spirit, and no member of the Tuhoe tribe has

since eaten of those fish, for they are *tapu*. The natives of this district are yet firm believers in these matters.

However, to cure the sufferer introduced above, the priest will go in search of a plant termed *keketuwai*, which is used as an *ara atua*, or way by which an afflicting demon is made to leave the human body. Placing this object upon the body of his patient, the priest will repeat a charm, or incantation, in order to force the evil spirit to quit the body of the sufferer :—

“ Tenei to ara
Haere ki o tipuna
Haere ki o matua
Haere ki o koroua
Haere ki nga mana o o tipuna.”
Etc., etc.

This kind of charm is called a *takutaku*. It calls upon the demon to come forth from the sufferer's body, and betake itself to the outer spaces, to the realm of darkness, or its original place, or to those from whom it sprang. Here is another *takutaku* :—

“ Haere koutou e patu nei
Haere i tua
Haere i waho
Haere i te Pu
Haere i te More
Haere i te Weu
E oho e nga atua whiu
E oho e nga atua ta
Haere i tua
Haere i te pouriuri
Haere i te potangotango
Ko rou ora
Ki te whai ao
Ki te ao marama.”

The *tohunga* will also proceed to the place where the foetus was buried and there kindle a fire, over which he will repeat an incantation in order to lay the evil spirit, and to render it harmless. He will also cook an article of food, usually a *kumara*, or sweet potato, at that fire. This he then proceeds to eat, and thus the evil spirit is *tamaoatia*, or polluted, rendered harmless, its powers to harm man are so destroyed. This rite is nowadays here termed a *whakawhetia*, a modern, introduced expression, and used in a very misleading sense.

The above rite was often performed over the foetus as soon as it was buried, in order that the evil spirit be rendered harmless before it could do any evil, otherwise it might turn on the relatives of the woman and afflict them sorely. Prevention is better than cure.

The spirit of such a foetus may enter an animal, or bird, or fish, or insect. Should a moth (*purerehua*) chance to fly over the foetus it would be entered by the evil spirit and that moth would then possess powers inimical to man, passing dangerous to human life. If the foetus be cast into the water, it may be devoured by a fish, which would thus become a dangerous *atua*. Such animal, fish, bird, or insect, thus becomes the *aria*, or form of incarnation of the evil spirit of the foetus.

In one case which came under my notice, a foetus was buried under the perch of a captive bird, a tame *kaka* parrot. The evil spirit of the *kahu* entered the bird with the result that several people were seriously afflicted by it. Diseases of the eyes, and other troubles, were caused by that dangerous demon, a truly disreputable bird. When any person was affected by that *atua*, should he, or a relative, dream of seeing the bird with ruffled plumage (*E whakakenakena ana*), that was deemed a good omen for the sufferer, he would recover. But should the dreamer see the bird moving about, or with its feathers in a flacid, or ordinary, condition (*mohimohi*), that that was a bad omen for the patient.

To destroy the evil spirit of a human foetus, some of the leaves in which food has been placed for cooking may be used as a covering for such foetus when buried. This will have the desired effect. There is nothing so inimical to *tapu*, or supernatural powers, as cooked food, or anything which has come in contact with it.

But in some cases these *atua kahu* were not destroyed, but were cultivated, conciliated with offerings, and developed into war gods, in order that their power might be directed against tribal enemies. Such was the origin of the *atua* (gods, demons) known as Te Awa-nui, Pare-houhou, Peketahi, and Te Rehu-o-Tainui, of the Tuhoe tribe.

The terms *tahe*, *whakatahe*, *mate-roto*, and *kuka* are all applied to abortion.

It does not appear that anything in the way of medicine was taken internally, in former times, in order to cause abortion, or to cure anything for that matter. But since the natives have observed the use made of such by white people, they have discovered (?) many cures, generally simple remedies, decoctions of herbs, etc., for most complaints, and also to procure abortion. A local native is famous for his skill in procuring abortion in this manner. Native treatment of disease formerly was essentially empirical, being based on observation and experience alone, or such afflictions were viewed as the result of witchcraft.

THE *Whare Kahu* (FŒTUS HOUSE) AND THE *Whare Kohanga*
(NEST HOUSE).

As already observed, a very considerable amount of *tapu* pertained to birth, and this led to the segregation of the woman, who, for the time being, was looked upon as being "unclean," this being one of the meanings of the word *tapu*.

The usual custom, in former times, was to erect a small, temporary shed, at some little distance from the village, and to this rude shelter the woman proceeded, together with her attendant, when her time drew near. This shed was known as a *whare kahu* (fœtus house), sometimes termed *whare whakakahu*. It was an extremely *tapu* place, and no one save the companion (caretaker) of the woman, was allowed to approach it, except, of course, the *tohunga*, or priest. This was more especially the case if the woman were of high rank and a *rapou*, i.e., in the straw with her first child. When, after parturition, the woman was removed to the *whare kohanga*, her relatives and friends might visit her, so soon as the *tapu* was removed from mother and child. This *whare kohanga*, or "nest house," as the term implies, was not a rude shed, such as the "fœtus house," but a better built and more comfortable place.

A woman would probably be in the fœtus house but a night or two before parturition, and would then be removed to the "nest house," together with her child. She would proceed to the *whare kahu* when she knew her time to be near, perhaps when the pains of labour began, or before. She might be one night in the fœtus house, or longer, especially in cases of protracted parturition (*whakatina*).

The caretaker appointed to look after the woman and take food to her while in the fœtus house, is also *tapu*. She must remain with her charge during the time she is *tapu*, and may not leave the place, nor visit the village, nor approach any place where food is cooked, nor even come near any person who is *noa* (common, void, not *tapu*). When food is prepared for the lying-in woman, it is carried by a *noa* person from the cooking place and deposited on the ground at some distance from the sacred precincts of the fœtus house, the bearer returning at once. Not until that bearer has retired does the *kai tiaki* (caretaker) venture to fetch it. She will get it and carry it to within some little distance of the *whare kahu*, and there deposit the same. The woman will then leave the shed and come to the place where the food is, and there eat it. But the food must on no account be taken near the shed or the child. For it is cooked food, the most polluting and degrading thing known to the Maori, dangerous to life and disastrous to man's physical, intellectual, and spiritual welfare. Should that cooked food be taken near the child while the

latter was in the state of intense *tapu*, which obtained before the performance of the *tua* rite, then the hapless infant would be *tamaoatia*, or polluted. That is to say the sacred life principle would be so polluted and endangered, and the child's welfare probably be utterly ruined. For it would be exposed to all the ills which assail man, it would be lacking in spiritual, vital and intellectual power and prestige, open to the shafts of magic, the sport of the gods, the food of Hades.

And note that, when the food bearer brings and deposits that cooked food, the attendant is careful to wait until the bearer has retired before she goes for the food. There must be no suspicion of pollution of the *tapu*, no chance of any contact with ordinary people, no direct communication of any kind between the *tapu* of the foetus house and that danger-infested world where cooked food and other dreadful things abound.

The term *whare kahu* or *whare whakakahu* is, to a certain extent, a figure of speech, inasmuch as, in fine weather, no shed at all may be erected, the woman giving birth to her child in the open. Nevertheless, the term would still be applied to the place, and the same intense *tapu* prevail. The *whare kohanga* is not nearly so *tapu*, as we shall see anon. It is not the place of birth, but a "nest house" to shelter mother and child after the intensity of the *tapu* has been lifted, and until the mother, together with her child, return to the common world. The "nest house" is made more comfortable because the woman stays in it for a much longer period than she does in the "foetus house."

Even now women are not allowed to give birth to a child in a dwelling house in a village, but go to a hut, or erect a tent, away from the village. It is deemed unseemly to utilise a dwelling house for this purpose, and not right that people should hear the sounds of parturition. It must be borne in mind that most dwelling houses are of a communal nature, and in no case is domestic privacy so obtainable as among white people.

LABOUR. *Whakamamae. Whakawhanau.*

Among native women giving birth is by no means the ordeal that it is to European women. It is surprising to white people to note how little fuss the former make over the matter, and how little it affects them in regard to the performance of their various labours. I have seen a woman go aside into the bush, alone, and shortly after return with her new born child, washed and wrapped up in one of her garments. A woman here went into the bush one day to procure firewood, and returned with a huge bundle of the same slung on her back. She walked into camp and squatted down that she might slip

her arms from the swag straps, and so get rid of her burden. As she did so, her child was born. But she never turned a hair. Quickly undoing some hidden tie or button, she allowed one of her garments to slip down and cover the child, thus saving the situation beautifully.

A native woman never lies down when in labour, and cannot understand why a white woman should do so, saying that it is a most inconvenient and unnatural attitude to assume at such a time. In one case where native women of this district attended a white woman during her confinement, they tried to persuade her to kneel in the native manner, but without avail. They were also surprised at the way in which their patient kept casting off all covering, and at her evident fear of results. In fact, they treated the whole affair with derision.

As already observed, a native woman thinks but little of giving birth to a child without any assistance from any person. Still she usually has an attendant, who is useful in cases of difficult parturition, which do sometimes occur. She kneels on the ground during her labour, and holds on, either to two stakes driven into the earth,* or to the knees of her attendant. The latter is the position usually assumed. The attendant squats down before the woman who rests her breast on the knees of the former and also clasps her tightly with her arms. The kneeling woman has her limbs apart and an old garment will be placed to receive the child. When the pains of labour (*whakamamae*) are severe, the attendant, who may be a woman, or, in some cases, a near male relative, as a father, will exhort the woman to be patient and brave (" *Kia manawanui! Kia kaha te kuku i to manawa,*" etc., i.e., advising her to take two short breaths and then a long one, to sustain the effort of expulsion). When there is much difficulty in parturition, the attendant, still in her squatting position, will press, or rub, her bare knees, with a downward motion, on the stomach of the labouring woman, in order to aid expulsion. In some such cases the child was pulled or eased out by the attendant. This attendant was sometimes changed in cases of difficult birth, as natives have a firm belief in "lucky" attendants. A woman's husband sometimes attends her, but if the birth is not easy she will tell him to retire and to send her a capable woman—a *ka kitea te ngawari o taua wahine i tikina, a ka whanau te wahine ra. Ko te mea pai ma te wahine e whakawhanau.*

"When a woman gives birth (*whakawhanau*) to a child, the first thing is the *whakamamae* (labour pains). The next is the *ara* (flooding before birth), and the next is the act of parturition. Then the sex

* These stakes, termed *turuturu*, are about three feet in height. Either one or two were used.

of the child is noted. If a male it is termed a *tama-a-roa* (an expression applied to a male child, perhaps to the first-born only) and his name is Tu (god of war, for that term is used in connection with male children). But if a female, then she is a daughter of Hine-te-iwaiwa (the personification of the female principle in the *genus homo*, and of all labours, etc., pertaining to women) and the term O-tawaha is applied to her. O-tawaha is a *pipi* (cockle) bank at Whakatane, where women pass much of their time in collecting food."

Another native, an elderly woman, said:—"In labour, the first thing discharged is the *kouawai*, a whitish, light coloured object, like an egg. Then comes the *ārā* (flooding), then the child, then the *parapara* (discharge of blood), then the *whenua* (afterbirth), and then more blood. The *ārā* is never absent. A child born feet first will prove to be unruly and troublesome."

After parturition, a woman often betakes herself to a river or stream and emerses her body therein, lying on her back, and her attendant passes her bare foot downwards over the stomach, so as to assist in the expulsion of any *whenua* (afterbirth), or *toto* (blood clots).

The placenta, or afterbirth, is termed *whenua*. It has been described by natives as "*He timatanga noho no te tamaiti.*"* It is taken away from the village and buried, as it is looked upon as being *tapu*, as also is the place where it is buried, which is carefully avoided by the people. The village priest performed a rite over this placenta in order to cause the next child born to the woman to be healthy and vigorous, and to survive. In olden times the new born child was often wrapped in fronds of the fern *mauku* (*Asplenium bulliferum*) previously warmed at a fire. Clothing was a scarce commodity among Tuhoe of the flaxless forest.

There is no special treatment of the mother, if she be affected by weakness after parturition, except to supply her with food. All these natives concur in saying that formerly women were very seldom ill during, or after, parturition. In olden times if, after birth, the passage was sore (*mehemea ka maki te tara*), a small steam oven (*umu*) was made, over which the woman sat, in order that the steam might effect, or assist, a cure—"hai whakapupu taua mea, hai whakaora."

If a woman dies in giving birth to a child, an almost unknown occurrence, the child is given to a woman in milk to suckle and tend—*Ka rōpētia te tamaiti*. *Rōpē*=to tend carefully, nurture. If a woman dies undelivered, nothing is done to save the child.

The term *parapara* is applied to blood discharged during or after parturition, or in menstruation.

* A first abiding place of the child.

Ewe. This term appears to be applied to the placenta among some tribes (see Williams' Maori Dictionary), but is not so used by Tuhoe, who do not apply it to anything discharged before, during, or after parturition. Here it is applied to the womb: "*Ko te ewe, koia te nohoanga o te tangata, o ia tamaiti, o ia tamaiti, koinei te whare o te tangata.*" The term *ewewe-ruu* is applied to the *whenua*, or placenta, while *ewewe* means a blood relation.

Noho kahu. This term denotes the birth of a child still enveloped in the *kahu*, i.e., born with a caul. A child so born will, it is said, grow up pert and forward, and will be a famous fighting man.

"When a child is born, and is seen to be covered with a greasy substance (*vernix caseosa*), we Maori people say that that substance represents the food consumed by the mother, and also that the mother has not been so virtuous as she might have been."

Some very singular traditions are retained by the Maori in regard to the Cæsarian operation having been performed in former times, but such are always located in some far distant land, inhabited by primitive people, who are often unacquainted with fire, or, if localised, are relegated to times long past away.

In cases of difficult birth, great faith was placed in charms and invocations. Such a charm would be known as a *tuku*, but they differed in their nature considerably. An interesting one will be found in Sir G. Grey's "Polynesian Mythology," and in which occur the names of Hine-tinaku, and Hine-mata-iti. The former is the same as Pani-tinaku, she who gave birth to the *kumara*, and to whom various invocations were addressed, while Hine-mata-iti was a younger sister of Pani, and also the origin, or personification, of the *kiore* (rat). This *tuku* was used by Hine-te-iwaiwa when in labour.

In many cases of difficult childbirth, a woman would get her husband to *wananga* her ancestral descent, i.e., to repeat her genealogical descent from the period of Darkness, the beginning of things, down to herself. If this did not cause the child to be born, then the husband would repeat his own line of descent down to himself, and this was generally effective, or ought to be. For if the child was not born then, it was known that the woman's husband was not the father of the child. In such a case, the genealogies of suspected men would be repeated, until the right one was hit upon, when the child would at once be born. In some cases the woman volunteered the desired information, which greatly simplified matters, and shortened the proceedings. In this manner was Tutanekai, of Roto-rua brought into the world, as also Rangi-te-ao-rere, he who conquered the original people of Mokoia.

Uenuku-rauiri, sister of Tuhoe-potiki, married and settled at Rangi-taiki. Here she became with child by a visitor, one Rangi-whakaeke-hau, of Rotorua, who, as he left her, said: "When our child is born, should it be a female, then name it after the rushing waters of Rangi-taiki; but if a male, then name it after the drifting clouds." When Uenuku's time came, she was in sore trouble, and the *wananga* was resorted to. But the repetition of the genealogies of her husband and others had no effect. She was near death when she said: "*Tena! Wanangatia a Rangi-whakaeke-hau.*" This was done, and the child, a male, was born. Thus it was known that Rangi was the father of that child, who, in accordance with his expressed wish, was named "The Drifting Cloud." And, in the days that lay before, that despised child became a somewhat dark cloud to his tribal enemies and made his name feared from Kainga-roa to the Sea of Toi.

It is difficult to assign a cause for this singular custom of repeating genealogies down from the gods of old, in order to render parturition easy. It may be connected with the universal system of ancestor worship which obtained among the Maori. They were also repeated during the marriage rite.

Among some tribes some singular beliefs obtain regarding birth, *e.g.*, that female children are never born while certain winds prevail, and that some winds prevent any birth, be it a male or female child.

The *iho* or umbilical cord is tied, sometimes with a piece of flax fibre, and sometimes by means of an overhand knot. Again, I am told that it was a custom to tie the cord in two places and then sever it between the two ties. Should the severing be felt by the mother, it is looked upon as a bad omen for her.

The umbilical cord has three names applied to it. The end next the child is termed the *pito*, the end attached to the mother (? placenta) is called the *rauru*, while the middle portion is known as the *iho*. Should the cord happen to part (*ka motu nou iho*) towards the mother's end, such is termed a *rauru motu* (a broken *rauru*) and the mother's life will be in great danger, no one save a very expert *tohunga* (priest, wise man) can save her: "*He rauru motu, kaore e pau katoa mai taua mea te rauru; na, ka reke te tamaiti, a ka pukiki.*" A *rauru motu* is when the *rauru* does not all come away, hence the child will be stunted and puny. On account of this belief, a sickly or small person is often termed "a *rauru motu*."

Another authority, an old woman, says:—"The cord is tied with a piece of flax fibre, and is cut at about four inches from the child's body. If cut too close to the child's body, there is formed thereon an unsightly lump. The end of the

cord outside the tie dries up and falls off in about a week. *Na te māhu i whakataka mai.* It is carefully watched, lest it fall off unobserved and be lost, for this is the *iho* which is preserved and deposited at some special place. The cord is cut as soon as the child is born, and then the infant is washed. Were the cord not tied, a fluid matter would run, or be ejected, from the body of the child, and cause death. The cord is tied to stop (*papuni*) such a flow. Now, there are two *whenua*, the one in which the child lies, and the one which is attached to the womb. When that comes away it is still attached to the mother. It is attached by the *rauru*. If this be severed, then the mother perishes. So the *whenua* is held by the *rauru*, but it all comes away after a time, and, if spread out, is seen to be about two feet wide. This is termed the *eweewe-rau* or *kawekawe-rau*. In late times, since the Europeans have been here, we have used a certain decoction, which is drunk by women in order to cause the placenta to come away. It is made by boiling together leaves of the *kopakopa* (? *Plantago major*), clover and *pororua* (*Sonchus oleraceus*) with some salt."

The Maori was not acquainted with the function of the umbilical cord, but believed that the child received sustenance from the mother through the hollow part (*wahi tamomo**) of the top of the head. Natives like to see a well formed head, a long head of regular form. Of such it is said that it has been carefully *toto* by the mother (*toto*—to chip into form).

Te *Iho-o-te-rangi* (the *iho* of the heavens) is a name sometimes met with in Maori nomenclature. In Finnish mythology, the god *Ukko*, armed with a great bow of fire, stands on a cloud, termed "the umbilicus of heaven," when fighting his enemies.

If the *iho* has a knotted appearance, it is believed that the next child born of the same woman will be a boy. The cord was cut with a piece of obsidian, by some old woman attending the mother, probably the grandmother of the child, or by the priest of the village, after which the child was washed. The term *waituhi* appears to signify the act of cutting the *iho* of the child. *Waituhitanga*=*te tapahanga o te iho ki te whare whakakahu*—the cutting of the umbilical cord in the foetus house. Then the priest would perform the *whakamoe* rite over the child. Taking it in his arms he repeats a charm over it and then lays it down again. The following is a charm repeated over a male child, though apparently not a *whakamoe* :—

Te kura i puta mai i Hawaiki

Kia tuputupu nunui e koe

Kia tuputupu roroa e koe

* *Wahi tamomo*—fontanelles.

E whana e koe ki uta
 E whana e koe ki tai
 E whana e koe ki te rangi nui e tu nei
 Kia maia, kia toa,
 Tau e riri ai.
 Ko te rangi e tu nei
 Ko te papa e takoto nei
 Mau ka toa, kia toa koe
 I te po, i te ao, i te marama
 Mau ka hi te pewa
 E hi te pewa
 Whenua puritia, whenua kia mau
 Ki tamoremore nui no Papa
 He aio. Toro hei.

In regard to these rites, an old man said: "When the *iho* of a child is cut and arranged, then charms are repeated in order to cause intelligence, cleverness, a clear mind, to enter and abide with the child, as also to cause ignorance, dulness, etc., to be expelled and put away, like the severed cord."

There were several ways of disposing of the severed *iho*. Sometimes it was simply wrapped up in a piece of an old garment and deposited at the *wahi tapu*, or sacred place of the village. Or it was buried, or put under a rock, or in a tree, near the village, or at a resting place on some track, or on a hill-top, or on a boundary of tribal lands, in which case it seems to have been believed that it protected, to some extent, both the land and the child. In one case noted by myself, the *iho* was buried on the summit of a hill near the mother's residence, and on land in which she is an owner, and a post set up to mark the spot.

When Pare-karamu, daughter of Paora Kingi, was born, her *iho* was buried at Pa-harakeke, on the tribal land of her people, and just on the boundary of the Maunga-pohatu and Tauranga Blocks. The place was marked by means of a wooden post, and is known as Te Iho o Pare-karamu. This post was ornamented with carving.

Many place names originated in this practice of so depositing the umbilical cord of children, such as Te Iho-o-Te-Ata, at Te Waimana. Te Iho o Kapuru is a place name at Maunga-pohatu, the *iho* of Kapuru, who flourished in that rugged land some seven generations ago, having been placed on a tree there. Te Iho o Tokotu is a *tawa* tree at Te Hue, where the *iho* of that ancestor was deposited. These *iho* or *pito* were usually deposited by the side of a path used in travelling, so that the place might thereafter be known as "The Iho of so-and-so." It was one way of keeping one's memory green in the land, as adopted by a people possessing no graphic system. At Te Pu-kioere, near Tara-pounamu, is a beech tree where many *iho* were

so deposited in former days, being thrust into crevices in the trunk thereof.

When the *pito* is severed, it may be disposed of at once or, if it is intended to deposit it at some distant place, then it will be kept until it is convenient to take it there. To preserve it, the cord would be placed in a *tahā koukou*, a small gourd in which was kept scented oil for dressing the hair. The oil preserved the cord from decay.

A *totara* tree on the Tahuaroa range, near my camp, was a famous *urupa pito tamariki*, or burial place for children's *pito*. Of this tree my informant says: "When the *pito* fell off, it was wrapped up and taken to that tree, where many have been deposited in former times. A hole would be made in the bark of the tree, into which the *pito* was thrust. Then the hole would be plugged with a piece of stone or, in the case of a chief's child, with a piece of the highly valued greenstone, or even with a worked ear ornament of the latter material. In olden days such trees were smeared with red ochre (*kokowai*). When we obtained European goods, then bright coloured strips of cloth and handkerchiefs were suspended from the tree. I have seen that tree so ornamented in the days of my youth. I saw a hat veil hung upon it, wrapped round a branch. But we do not do those things now. The bark of the tree has grown over the holes formerly made in it. These *iho* were often deposited at some *taumata* or resting place on a hill, by the side of a track, where people frequently passed. They were never deposited on flat land, but always at such places on ridges, places where all people liked to stay and rest (*ka whaia ki te taumata e matiheretia ana e te katoa*). Sometimes when the *pito* drops off, the mother will wrap it up and hang it round her neck. When the child begins to prattle (*owhaowha*), she will undo the wrapper, and if she has lost the *pito* the child will soon die. It is a sign. If not lost it is then taken away and disposed of."

In the above case, the tree would be treated with regard, and ornamented according to native ideas, because of the *tapu* pertaining to birth and to all persons of good family, and as a general mark of respect, but it must not be imagined that such a tree was worshipped in any way. It was not a fetish, albeit a traveller would probably describe it as such.

The term *iho*, speaking generally, means the heart or kernal of anything.

When the *pito* of a child came away, a rite known as *umu whangai* was performed. It was a sort of offering to the *tapu* of the child (*he whangai i te tapu o te tamaiti*).

BIRTH MARKS, ETC.

When the *timuaki* (crown, dividing place of hair) is seen to be high up on the head of a child, it is said to be a sign that the next child born to the mother will be a male. But if it be situated lower down, or towards the side of the head, then the next born will be a girl.

The natives believe that if a pregnant woman sees some object which attracts her attention, and if she laughs at it (or is interested in it) that object will be transferred to, or depicted on, the child, the embryo or foetus will be impregnated with it. But this only happens when the woman has just conceived, not after the child is formed. Should a woman in such condition be struck with the appearance of a *tekoteko* (a grotesque carved wooden figure) and laugh at it, her child, when born, will be very ugly.

Congenital stigmas of this kind are said to be not uncommon. A woman here has a strand of reddish hair among her plentiful growth of black hair, and she states that it was caused by her mother seeing, and being struck by, or interested in some *maurea* (a reddish tussock grass) which had been brought from Tarawera (it is not found in this district), during her pregnancy.

Children are sometimes born with dark coloured patches, termed *ira*, on the skin. They may be large or small, and are usually on the thigh (perhaps buttocks), side, or breast. They do not disappear, but remain until death. A daughter of Tukehu had the whole of her chest so discoloured.

A child was born in this district still enveloped in the membrane, *i.e.*, with a caul (*noho kahu*), had one side of the face much discoloured (*pango*—dark), but in this case the mark disappeared, and a dark patch then appeared on the child's breast.

When a child was born of a woman of rank in the tribe, the birthplace was often marked by means of a few large stones. For the place would be *tapu* and it was not desirable that people should trespass on the spot. On a terrace at Tuhua, in the Ruatoki district, may still be seen the stones which mark the birthplace of Te Umurangi, a famous chieftain of the Tuhoe tribe and who flourished some three generations ago.

Among some tribes it appears to have been a custom to bury the *pito* of a child and then plant a young tree on the spot. This tree served as a sort of *mauri* for the child, and by its vigorous or sickly growth betokened the vitality or otherwise of the child. This custom, however, did not obtain in this district. It is stated that at the birth of a Japanese baby a tree is thus planted and which must remain untouched until the marriage day of the child, when it is cut

down and the timber thereof is transformed into furniture for the young couple.

Tapu OF BIRTH.

As we have noted, a great amount of *tapu* pertained to everything connected with birth. Some first born children were kept strictly *tapu* from birth, and not allowed to carry food or to perform any labour whatever. This would apply to the first born male and female children of a chief's family only, but in a general sense a male is *tapu* and a female is *noa*, or common, *i.e.*, void of *tapu*. Hence women are employed to take the *tapu* off, or make common, any *tapu* person or object. The adoption of Christianity put an end to the rites described in this paper, because such adoption implied the giving up of the gods of the Maori and the system of *tapu*, hence man became *noa*, common, his sacred life principle is defiled, and the rites of old have no longer any power, or influence. It is a very modified form of *tapu* that we see now. The *tua* rite, which is performed in order to *whakanoa*, or make common, mother and child, does not entirely remove the *tapu* from a first born child, but sufficiently so to allow of its being handled and nursed by women. If a male child is dedicated to the service of Tu, the god of war, that child remains *tapu* until his hands are soiled with human blood, *i.e.*, until he has slain an enemy in battle.

We will now give some account of the *tua* and *tohi* rites, as performed over the newly born child, as also of certain rites and observances known as *kawa ora*, *tu ora*, *mauri tūāpā*.

(To be continued.)



THE TIPUA-KURA, AND OTHER MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SPIRIT WORLD.

(BY LIEUT.-COLONEL GUDGEON, C.M.G.)

AT the present time it would be difficult to find one European who could give a coherent account of the Maori theory of the spirit world. The reason is obvious—the modern Maori knows very little more than his *pakeha* friend, and the few remaining *tohungas* have either been badly instructed or they have forgotten the ancient lore of their people. The real Maori view of this subject can only be gathered from remarks that escape them in ordinary conversation, and these, however peculiar they may appear to us, are not irrational.

"The god of whom I speak is dead," said a witness in the Native Land Court. The Court replied, "Gods do not die." "You are mistaken," said the witness, "gods do die unless there are *tohungas* to keep them alive." Here we have a thoroughly Maori idea, but it is not new. The sentiment is almost identical with that which an ancient writer puts into the mouth of a heathen deity—"When the people cease to believe in you as gods, you are dead," Fortunately the Maori has not ceased to believe in his ancient gods and their natural allies and attendants—the *taniwha*, *tipua*, and *kura*—not to mention the minor manifestations of the powers of the outer world. All of these have been kept alive by the *tohungas*, and are very much in evidence.

The word "*tipua*" may sometimes be translated by our word "demon," for it does occasionally bear that signification, but more often it would be better rendered by the expression "uncanny thing." All that is out of the common or that would seem to possess

unaccountable powers or virtues may justly be dubbed a *tipua*; and under this heading may be included stones, trees, or even fish—provided always that the appearance of the thing in question is sufficiently curious. We may take for example “Hine-ngutu.” This *tipua* is a simple knot of *totara* wood; but Maori tradition asserts that it has for ages, beyond even the memory of tradition, revolved in regular circles in a pool of the Wheao River, but, unlike all other pieces of wood, has been unable to escape down stream. It is this successful conflict with the ordinary laws of nature that has established the right of Hine-ngutu to be considered a *tipua*. I have heard Maoris assert that they have experimented by throwing pieces of wood into the same pool, and that these, after following Hine-ngutu for a few revolutions, have drifted down stream, leaving this uncanny *totara* knot to continue its never-ending course. Hine-ngutu has *mana* of a sort, and is popularly supposed to resent any liberties taken with her. On a certain occasion a party of the Colonial forces out on the war-path succeeded in noosing this *tipua*, and fished her up for examination. She was of course returned to her natural element without delay, but none the less the Maori portion of the force freely stated their conviction that misfortune would be the lot of some one or more members of the party; and sure enough, within two hours heavy and unexpected rain fell, to the great satisfaction of the Maoris, who felt that they had escaped somewhat easily the wrath of an outraged *tipua*, and were, moreover, by no means displeased to find the unbelieving *pakeha* so decidedly in the wrong.

As for fish *tipuas*, I have heard of but one, and that was a most marvellous *kahawai* known to posterity by the name of Pururau. This tale may perchance be classed among “big-fish” stories; but the tradition is that this *tipua* was first seen near Whangaparaoa, in the Bay of Plenty, and was easily recognised by the fact that a small tree grew from the back of its head, part of which was always above water. This uncanny fish was followed by a man and woman—Tanepatua and Mamoe—who for some reason had devoted themselves to its capture, and carried with them a net of great *mana* and sacredness, suitable for so great a purpose.

This patient and long-suffering pair followed their prey for months, but were unable to effect its capture until they reached Waingongoro, on the west coast of the North Island, where they were at last successful. The woman Mamoe is said to have cohabited with Te Hokato of Whanganui, and this fact enables us to fix approximately the date of the capture, inasmuch as there have been thirteen generations since the time of Te Hokato—probably three hundred and fifty years.

Of quite another type is the Tipua Ruawhango, who is popularly supposed to occupy a cave to the south of Kawhia. Presumably Ruawhango is a spirit, but no one has ever seen it. All that is known is this: that its voice has often been heard warning those who came to gather shell-fish to desist from injuring the offspring of the *tipua*. I have not heard that any one required a second warning, and therefore this guardian of the *pipi*-beds has not found it necessary to personally interview intruders; and for this reason nothing is known of the social history or personal appearance of Ruawhango.

One of the most interesting of all *tipuas* is a rock called Uenuku-tuwhatu, which may yet be seen near the mouth of the Awaroa creek, in the harbour of Kawhia. This famous stone was, and perhaps still is, the possessor of peculiar virtue, and of old had great repute among childless women, who were wont to repair thither in great numbers; and the efficacy of these visits may not be doubted, for there is yet a man living who is known as the son of Uenuku-tuwhatu. This is but one of many instances of Phallic worship among the Maoris.

Papakauri is an enchanted tree, whose history is even more mysterious than that of Papataunaki, related in a previous article. It is, moreover, surrounded by such a web of superstition of a truly unexplainable nature that it will be difficult to make myself intelligible to Europeans. I am, indeed, conscious that the *pakeha* side of my brain does not understand the tale as related to me, whereas on the Maori side it is clear enough. I think I have already remarked that *tipuas* are an exception to the rule, that all things are subject to the great laws that govern the universe. *Tipuas* obey no law, whether human or divine, but are somewhat amenable to *karakias* when uttered by a *tohunga* of reputation. With this preliminary warning, I will commence my tale by saying that at one period of its history Papakauri was a tree pure and simple, and that subsequently it became a *tipua*; but at what particular stage of its existence it changed its nature and became possessed of a spirit is not known. Still less is it known why it did all those things which I am about to record, and all of which are matters of history among the Ngati-Maru of Hauraki.

At that remote period when, as I have said, Papakauri was a tree, it grew and flourished at Opokura, near Okauia, on the Waihou River; but after many years it came to pass that this tree was uprooted, and lay where it fell for several generations, until a flood of more than ordinary magnitude floated the trunk down stream towards Hauraki. With the tree came a certain *ngarara* known as

Hinarepe (probably a lizard), who, it would seem, was also a *tipua*, inasmuch as on its way down the river it landed at Te Konehu, a *tunga uira*^{*}, and there bit a stone which was the shrine of the lightning at that place. Now, this act had the greatest possible significance, since the mere fact of biting any object has the effect of depriving the person or thing bitten of his *mana*, and that *mana* is by such action removed to the biter thereof. Therefore this act of Hinarepe removed the *mana* (which in this instance was the lightning) from the stone at Te Konehu. This done, Hinarepe returned to Papakauri, and the two floated down stream until they reached Te Kairere, where the former landed and established another *tunga uira* with the lightning taken from Te Konehu, and when it had done these things the two *tipua* floated out into the Hauraki Gulf and touched at Hauturu (Little Barrier Island), where Hinarepe landed and passes out of this story.

Papakauri, deserted by its familiar spirit, returned to the Waihou River, and was moving quietly back to its old home at Okauia when it was seen by Maiotaki, a chief of the Ngati-Maru, who, being a man of experience, recognised that the log was a *tipua* of great *mana*, since it was moving up stream against the current; he therefore stopped it by a powerful incantation. Meanwhile, the chief Tamure at Okauia had missed his sacred tree, and had therefore opened up communications with his gods in order to ascertain the whereabouts of this errant member of the tribe. In a very short time he was told that his *tipua* was at Waihou, and he at once started off in his canoe in order to recover this much-valued spirit. While yet a long way off, at Huirau, he stood up in his canoe and chanted a most potent *nyare* (spell) of such *mana* that it even affected Maiotaki, who thus became aware that Tamure was trying to recover Papakauri. Then began the great struggle between the rival *tohungas*. In vain Papakauri struggled to free itself; the gods of Maiotaki held it fast until Tamure (who by this time had arrived upon the scene) had to confess himself vanquished, and yielded gracefully, saying, "You have our ancestor, behave generously to him."

The dispute having ended amicably, Maiotaki invited Tamure to his village, and on the following morning permitted him to obtain a share of the lightning from the shrine at Te Kairere. This done Tamure covered his head with some of the garments which had been propitiatory offerings to Papakauri, and returned to Te Konehu, where he restored the lightning to the stone at that place. Certain

* A place where lightning is frequently seen to flash.

it is that Tamure did not rob Te Kairere of all its *mana* for it is still a *tunga uira*. And the lightning never fails to record the occurrence of any serious misfortune to the chief descendants of Maiotaki. The flashes were seen on the instant that Kohu fell in battle at Otamarakau, and the same omen of death and disaster marked the fact that Whaiapu had been drowned off the island of Waiheke.

I may explain that the expressions *tunga uira* or *ruu kanapu* are used to denote places where lightning is frequently seen to quiver as though hanging over that particular place, and these names have reference to one of the most deeply seated of all Maori superstitions, viz., that every tribe of *mana* has one or more places where, in the event of actual misfortune happening to the leading members of the tribe, the lightning is seen to flash like a column downwards to the earth. It is said that the lightning does even more than this, that it will actually foretell coming misfortune, and that *tohungas* who are learned in such matters could, by the appearance of the flashes, determine whether the misfortunes were present or to appear in the near future. Should men of the tribe be absent on some distant warlike expedition and meet with a serious reverse, the lightning would in such case notify the fact to those remaining at home. *Tunga uira* are not always tribal; in some cases where the family is of exalted rank, it will be found that they are the proud owners of a place of this sort in their own right, and I need hardly say that it is a very great distinction, for if a family has a *tunga uira* it is proof positive that their rank and social status is recognised not only by the powers above but also by those of the nether world.

Flashes of lightning seen over one of the peaks of Wharepuhunga were of old regarded as an evil omen for the brave tribe of Ngati-Raukawa, and the same phenomeua seen over the hill known as Te Ihu o te Heruheru was an omen of death for the family of Wahanui. In all such cases it was held that the lightning spoke as a god to the people of the land.

Within or near the boundaries of the Tuhoe country there are no less than three trees that possess *mana* of a very high class. Trees that are said to possess powers that would seem to indicate that the Maori, like all other people of the east, had at one period of their history a tendency to worship the reproductive powers of nature.

One of these objects of veneration, a *pukatea* tree known by the name of Puta-tieke, once grew in the gorge of the Otara river, at no great distance from Opotiki. This tree was hollow and was used as a place of deposit for the bones of the illustrious dead of the Panenehu tribe; so much so that when the tree fell to the ground some thirty years since it was found to be absolutely full of skeletons, and it seems

possible that the sacredness of these bones may have communicated itself to the tree and hence the *mana* of Puta-tieke. This is, of course, a mere suggestion, but whatever the cause, certain it is that the pilgrimages of childless women to this shrine were made with the best possible result.

Of even greater reputation than the last is a *hinau* tree, which may yet be seen growing on the banks of a stream called Horomanga-o-po, about six miles from Fort Galatea, the tree itself being known as Hunahuna-a-po. As to this *tipua*, there is a tradition to the effect that it was brought to New Zealand in the canoe Utupawa, by Kuiwai and Haungaroa, on the occasion of their memorable journey from Hawaiki, when those women came to warn Ngatoro-i-rangi that he had been cursed by Manaia. This tale is interesting, but I think the Maoris have no faith in it, most certainly I have none, for the reason that the object of the two women in bringing the sapling is not mentioned, and Maoris do nothing without a definite object. They are, however, unanimous on the following points: that the tree is divided close to the roots into two stems, one of which is termed the *peka maroke*, or withered stem, and the other the stem of life. Any woman who might desire to test the virtue of Hunahuna-a-po would proceed thither, accompanied by her husband and a *tohunga* of the tribe owning the tree, and when within a short distance of the sacred place would be carefully blindfolded and ordered to advance alone and embrace "the giver of life," while the *tohunga* invoked the aid of his ancestral gods, and closely watched the proceedings in order that he might be in a position to predict the result of the ceremony, which same, under ordinary circumstances, would seem not to have required a prophet, inasmuch as if a woman had by chance embraced the withered stem, she must necessarily abandon all hope of offspring.

In the course of this ceremony there were many matters that required careful observance in order to ensure success, but these need not be mentioned in this article. We may, however, assume that all things being equal, the tree had *mana*, for at Galatea there is a son of Hunahuna-a-po still living who is known by the name of Te Ariate-Hinau, and as he has both children and grandchildren the tree may be said to be incarnate in their persons, and hence we have an instance of genuine *mana* Maori surviving even at the present day.

At Ohaua-te-rangi, in the Ruatahuna valley, there is yet another *hinau* tree of even greater *mana* than the foregoing. This tree is known as Te Iho-a-Kataka, and it has been held to be sacred from the earliest period of Maori history, and a good and sufficient reason given for the alleged sacredness. According to tradition, the ancestor

Irakewa left Hawaiki on the back of his ancestral *taniwha*, taking with him the *iho** of his granddaughter Kataka, and, following the custom of his ancestors, on his arrival in New Zealand, chose this particular tree whereon to hang this family relic. Some two generations after this event the Mata-atua canoe arrived, bringing among others, Taneatua, the father of Kataka, who proceeded inland at once in order to secure possession of unoccupied lands. During his travels chance brought him to Ruatahuna, and it came to pass that he sat down under this very *hinau*. Seeing that the berries were ripe he stretched out his hand to pluck them, but as he did so a voice spoke saying, "Let me not be eaten for I am the *iho* of your daughter Kataka." Now, in those days it would seem that spiritual manifestations were not uncommon, and therefore Taneatua betrayed no surprise, but thrust the berry deep into the ground saying, "*Ka whakato tamariki ahau*"—I plant the seed from which children shall spring." From these words it has come that this *hinau* tree has been endowed with special *mana* over childless women, and even at the present day the Tuhoe tribe wrap the *iho* of their children in the leaves of the *aute*, or *raukawa* tree, and hang them on the boughs of this most sacred tree.

Hinekura is a true *tipua*, for as much at the very best it cannot be said to be either ornamental or useful, but it is interesting. Hinekura is in fact a simple stone, red in colour, and if we may believe the tribes of the Wairoa, it may at any time be seen in the bed of the river of that name at no great distance from Opotiki. But however simple its appearance, its *mana* is very great, and will be manifest to the meanest comprehension when I say that though Hinekura has been frequently carried off by hostile war parties, yet no one has ever succeeded in retaining possession of this female *tipua*. The tale told is to the effect that she can only be held in bondage so long as the eye of the spoiler is upon her, let him but wink and thereupon both time and space are annihilated and Hinekura has occupied her old and solitary position in the bed of the Wairoa River and is laughing at her would-be masters.

It will, of course, be understood that I do not undertake to describe all the *tipuas* or *kuras* of my acquaintance. Such a task would be herculean. The most that I can do under the circumstances is to classify them and introduce the leading members of each family, to what I hope may prove an appreciative public. With this preface I introduce the "*Whatu-kura-a-Tangaroa*," the most illustrious of all the *kura* clan. I must however, explain the specific

* Umbilical cord.

difference between a *kura* and a *tipua*. The explanation is simple. The first named is useful, the second is merely uncanny.

The Whatu-kura is an heirloom of the Whanau-a-Apanui tribe, still in their possession, and held in the highest veneration by that people. Like Hinekura, it is a red stone, but there the resemblance ceases, for the Whatu-kura has been carved by the hand of man, or rather of woman, in order to represent a Phallic emblem. This *kura* is rarely seen at the present day, indeed it is only exhibited on great occasions, such as the death of a man of rank among the Whanau-a-Apanui. In such cases it is suspended from the overhanging gable of the tribal council house, at least such was the procedure in 1895, when Paora Ngamoki died.

The life history of this *kura* is peculiar, the tradition being that it was brought from Hawaiki some 500 years ago by the ancestor Motatau-mai-Tawhiti, when the "Tauira" canoe brought that man and his following to New Zealand. So, also, the manner in which the Motatau family became possessed of the prize is distinctly outside the pale of ordinary experience. It would seem that a certain woman named Hine, having made a basket net, sent her two young daughters, Hine-titama and Hine-ahu-one, to cast the net into the sea in order to catch fish for the household. The girls followed the usual course, and when from certain indications they expected to find fish in the net they pulled it up, but found only a red stone. This stone they cast into the sea, and again lowered their net, but with no better fortune, for they drew up the same stone. This procedure was repeated several times, until the girls became alarmed at the pertinacity of the *tipua*, and returned to the village and related their adventures, half believing that the mother had been practising magic art at their expense. When they had finished their tale, Hine asked, "Where is this stone?" and was told that it had repeatedly been thrown into the sea, where it then was. On receiving this reply Hine expressed her strong disapproval. "That stone," said she, "was your ancestor, and should have been brought to me; go again and endeavour to catch it." The order was obeyed and the Whatu-kura captured without difficulty and brought to Hine, who, after a careful inspection, said, "This is a very great treasure, and by its aid large quantities of fish will be caught, provided that it be carved in a suitable manner." She then showed her daughters how the *kura* should be carved, and when this had been done to her satisfaction, she sent her daughters to the beach which is called Tapa-tai-roa-o-Hawaiki, and there, with appropriate invocations to Tangaroa, the Whatu-kura was thrown into the sea at the spot known

as Hariki-o-Tonga, with the result that 3000 fish were taken at one haul.

When the tidings of this miraculous draught of fishes reached the tribes of Hawaiki [*i.e.*, Hawaiki in N.Z., not the Fatherland, is, I presume, intended—ED.] a certain man named Kaurepa, taking advantage of the absence of Hine, requested her daughters to show him this wonderful *kura*. When it was handed to him he rubbed it against his nose, and then requested the girls to hang it up, so that all might contemplate the treasure at their leisure. Under various pretexts he persuaded the girls to accompany him on the road to his village, and *en route* managed to leave them so that he might return by a short route to the house and carry off the *kura*. When Hine missed the *kura* she asked who had visited their village, and was told that Kaurepa had been there. Then said she, "That man has stolen the Whatu-kura, but first go to the sea and seek information from the fish, they will make the matter clear to you." The first fish interviewed by the two girls was the *kumukumu*, who frankly admitted that he knew nothing of the theft; they then asked the *kahawai*, who replied, "The stone is concealed about the person of Kaurepa." Fortified by this evidence the young women sought out the culprit and charged him with the offence; but that hardened offender not only denied the charge, but called on the girls to bring him face to face with his accuser. Here, however, he fared badly, for the *kahawai* not only repeated his original statement, but also indicated where the stone was hidden. On this Kaurepa made a virtue of necessity by admitting his guilt and handing over the stone to its rightful owners.

I may point out that the tribe feel no anxiety lest this relic of the past should be lost by reason of the sudden death of the custodian, for the Whatukura has a familiar spirit in the shape of a bird called the *tieke*, whose duty it is to ascertain and disclose to the person lawfully entitled to the custody the hiding-place of the Whatukura-a-Tangaroa.

It is the proud boast of the Whanau-a-Apanui tribe that they possess the two most famous *kuras* of the Maori people—viz., Te Whatukura and the Kura-o-Taininihi—and they claim that both were brought hither in the Taurira canoe. To the latter statement the Arawa demur, for they claim Taininihi as one of the crew of their own canoe, and relate that they first sighted the coast of New Zealand in the neighbourhood of Whangaparaoa, where the brilliant crimson blossoms of the *pohutu-kawa* tree so excited the admiration of Taininihi that he took off his *kura* (head-dress) and

threw it into the sea, with a remark that it was old, and that new ones might be had in this land merely for the trouble of gathering.

The meaning of the word "*kura*" is not always clear; in some instances the word has a religious application, and in some an occult meaning, such as in the expression "*kura huna*," which is used by the Maoris in the same sense as we use the expression "philosopher's stone." In this instance the word is used to denote the *parekura* or war-bonnet of the Polynesians, a few specimens of which remain, and all of which are ornamented in front with the red feathers of some bird. This particular *kura* was cast ashore in the territory of the Whanau-a-Apanui, and there found and appropriated by one Mahina, of the Uri-o-Toi, or ancient inhabitants of New Zealand. About seven generations after this event we hear of this *kura* in the possession of the Hauiti tribe of Tologa Bay, where it was saved by Tutae-marō on the occasion of the storming of the Tohoroa *pa*, when Tautini was slain. Long after this we hear of it being in the possession of the Whanau-a-Apanui chief Pakipaki-rauri, with whom, according to the Ngati-Porou, it was buried. This is merely an idea of the Ngati-Porou, which may be taken for what it is worth, for it may be that the Apanui people still have it in their possession. Whatever the present condition of the *kura* of Taininihi may be, it is clear that at one period it possessed *mana* in a high degree, and that the sacredness of the *kura* communicated itself to the receptacle in which it was kept. According to Major Rapata, of the Ngati-Porou, the *kura* was kept in an oblong gourd, or something resembling a gourd, which had been brought from Hawaiki, and had become so sacred that when removing the lid to take out the *kura* the eyes of the man so engaged were carefully averted in order that no offence might be given to the *atua* within the gourd.

When on the war-path, this enchanted head-dress was invariably worn by the chief of the family to whom it belonged, and was of exceeding value to the tribe, inasmuch as by the changing hues of its colour the *tohungas* could foretell the result of the coming battle. If it glowed with a rosy crimson, success was assured; if, on the other hand, its hue faded to a pale pink, then certain defeat could only be avoided by a hasty retreat until such time as the *kura* regained its colour and the omens were favourable.

Another *kura* of historical renown is that known as the "*Kura-o-Tuhaeto*." Presumably this also was a head-dress, and at one time belonged to the Wairoa tribes of Hawke's Bay—that is, to the descendants of Ruapane, for the junior members of the Kahungunu were hardly likely to own a *kura*; but whatever the origin, it may

not be questioned that the Kura-o-Tuhaeto had *mana* of a very unusual description. We are told that when the warrior Tapuae invaded Poverty Bay, he kept his presence carefully concealed until he could deliver his attack, and this disposition prevented his men from roaming about in search of food, so that they were nearly starved. In this extremity the chief ordered the *kura* to be exhibited to his followers, and, according to tradition, as the men looked upon this tribal heirloom the pains of hunger left them, and they felt marvellously invigorated.

As for "Tipoki-o-rangi," I find it rather difficult to classify this member of the outer world. It is too useful to be called a *tipua*, and it is not quite a god; but I think the Maoris would be inclined to regard it as such, or at any rate as the shrine of an *atua*. Briefly, Tipoki-o-rangi is a gourd that has been cut in halves so that the upper portion forms a lid for the lower. This gourd, for some unknown reason, has been chosen by a very potent *atua* as his shrine, and this spirit it is that the Arawa invariably consult when about to engage in any very difficult or dangerous work. During the early part of last century the *kaupapa* or medium of this spirit was one Ngawene, the father of Hamuera Pango, of Rotorua; but in more ancient times Te Rore was the high priest who expounded all the signs vouchsafed by the god. The method adopted in order to ascertain the probable fate of a war party was as follows: The lower half of the gourd was filled with water, and the *tohunga* in charge of the proceedings invoked the aid of the deity until the surface of the water became agitated and small wavelets rose and fell. If none of the water was spilt, then it was an omen of complete success for the Arawa; if it flowed over one side of the gourd only, it was an intimation that both sides would suffer severely; but if it flowed over all round the gourd, it was clear to all that the Arawa war party would be destroyed.

Tipoki-o-rangi is not the only oracle of the Arawa. Shortly before the Mataipuku fight in 1836, when Te Waharoa and his allies were known to be marching on Rotorua, the Arawa consulted their famous *atua*, Te Makawe, with the result that it was clearly predicted that if they fought outside their *pa* on the first day of the attack they would be badly beaten. Ngahihi and Korokai explained the whole matter very clearly to the tribe, but some of the younger chiefs, with all the arrogance of the true Arawa, declined to listen or obey the oracle. Then Korokai called on Te Purewa, a famous chief of the Tuhoe, to consult his familiar, a lizard called "Peketahi." Te Purewa stood up and, in the presence of all, sent his *atua* away, probably to gather information; and when the lizard god returned

it was in a dying condition, and the chief exhibited it and warned the warriors on no account to leave their *pa* while the omens were against them. But who can hold headstrong men? When Te Waharoa appeared, Mataiawhea led out the Ngati-Tura and Ngati-Ahuru, and lost not only his own life, but those of about sixty of his followers also. The warnings of the gods may not be disregarded with impunity.

Maori superstition does not limit itself to the *taniwha kura* and *tipua* only; the tendency to believe in the supernatural is very wide indeed. For instance, the Maori firmly believes in the sacredness of the eldest born of the *ariki* (or agnate) line of the tribe—that is, of the senior line of descent in the tribe; and from this conviction we can trace the origin of all their ideas connected with the *tapu* and *mana* of chiefs. If, moreover, we examine critically into these matters, we shall find that the Maori view is both well founded and logical, inasmuch as the sacredness of the *ariki* is due to the fact that he is, by virtue of his birth, the shrine of an hereditary *atua*, and therefore his power or *mana* is superhuman; and for the same reason, anything brought in contact with his sacred person would also become sacred, and therefore dangerous to mere common humanity.

So, also, the Maori believes in the *mana* that is said to be hereditary in all of the descendants of certain ancestors, of which I can give no better instance than that of the Waitaha, a small tribe of the Hauraki Gulf, who are also known as the Whauwhau-harakeke.* The *mana* of this tribe is said to have been derived from a woman named Irakau, and those who can appreciate her illustrious descent will readily understand why she should have possessed *mana* in a high degree, for she was a veritable descendent of the sea-god, Tangaroa, not to mention other minor deities. On this point I will not expatiate at any length, as I may have to refer to it again. I need only say that Irakau had *mana* over all the fish of the sea, including the whales, and that this unusual power was transmitted to her descendants. I have been told that Irakau derived her *mana* from her father, Rakataura, who was himself a great wizard, and had already proved his superiority to ordinary men by preceding the Tainui canoe in her voyage to New Zealand, seated on the back of his ancestral *taniwha*, Pane-iraira. I am also aware that Irakau can claim descent on the mother's side from Wharewharenga-te-rangi and other famous ancestors who belonged to the ancient tribes of the North Island, and therefore I am not prepared to indicate the exact

* Those girls about with the leaves of the *phormium tenax*.

source of her *mana*, though I freely admit its existence.

The power of the Whauwhau-harakeke is, so to speak, localised at the "Mauri ika-moana," of Rangiriri, on the shores of the Hauraki Gulf; and I may explain that the word *mauri* signifies an altar, or better still, a shrine, and therefore we may interpret the expression as "the shrine of the sea-fish." All birds or fish have their *mauri*, before which the tribal *tohungas* must invoke the aid of the gods whenever the tribe has resolved to go forth to catch either birds or fish, for without these preliminary rites the mere efforts of man would indeed be futile.

The *mauri* of which I now write is a small sandbank, in shape somewhat resembling the back of a whale, and hence it is known as the "Iwi-tuaroa," or back-bone. The head of this so-called fish is directed inland and the tail towards the sea, the whole being overgrown, and the shape preserved by the creeping grass called *matie*. From the most ancient times this sand hummock has been regarded not only as a sacred place, but also as a veritable *ika-moana* (sea-fish). It was here that those descendants of Irakau (who had touched the dead or had attended the sick, and thereby become dangerously *tapu*) would resort in order to purify themselves by ablutions and ceremonies suitable to a people who could boast that they were of the *kawei ika-moana* (genealogy of the sea-fish).

When a member of the Whauwhau-harakeke died, the relations were most careful that no leaves of green flax were used to bind up the body in the orthodox position for burial. On these mournful occasions only the carefully dried leaves of *phormium tenax* or *cordyline* were used, for as much as any breach of this rule would have prevented the whales attending the funeral feast. So, also, when the corpse was carried to its last resting place, the bier was tied together with dried flax, to the end that no offence might be given to the sea fish, who, all things being equal, would shortly be stranded in order to supply food for the feast. To ensure this happy result great care was necessary. For instance, those whose duties compelled them to come in contact with the dead, would purify themselves at the *mauri ika moana*, but would return by the inland side of that shrine, and carefully avoid the path between the shrine and the sea. On the third or fourth day after these ceremonies, a school of whales would be seen heading for the shore at the Iwi-tuaroa, led by a fish known as the Ika tapairu, viz., the leading or directing fish, whose rôle it was to pilot his friends in such a manner that they could not avoid being stranded. Nor would he leave them until they were helplessly at the mercy of the tribe. Then, his work being accomplished, he would wriggle out of the shallow

water and swim away rejoicing. When the Ika-tapairu had played his part in this tragedy, the *tohunga* of the Whauwhau-harakeke would walk slowly towards the sea, muttering as he went an invocation suitable to the occasion, addressed to Tangaroa (the Maori Poseidon), and, having reached the sea, would there swallow a mouthful of salt water, after which act of homage it would be impossible for any fish to escape the tender mercies of the children of Irakau, unless indeed by their own default.

The rules observed on these occasions were very strict, no unseemly selfishness or quarrelling was permitted, and if any one member of the tribe was prevented by another from obtaining his just share of the spoil, it was the duty of the injured man to go direct to the chief priest of the *mauri* and relate to him the circumstances of his injury. Then, if the priest was satisfied that there had been greediness or selfishness on the part of anyone, he would proceed forthwith to the fish in dispute—which might, perchance, have been partly cut up and a portion in process of cooking—and would there offer up the *karakia*, called a *toko*, as follows:—

Ko te toko o Tane-mahuta, te toko o Rangi,
Te toko o Tinirau, te toko o Manaia,
I tokona ai Tangaroa ki tai ra ;
Nau mai e hoki, kei taona pukutia koe ki te Rangi
Pokokohua, kei taona koe.

After this *karakia*, no matter how distant the deep water might be, or how mutilated the fish, it would begin to wriggle head and tail alternately until it reached the sea; nor could this escape be prevented, no matter how many ropes might have been attached to the fish as a precaution against such accidents, for the men holding the ropes would be tumbled in heaps, one over the other, and the whale would find its way back to the "Puna a Tinirau" at Rangiriri, which, as all the world must know, is the centre of the fish world.

In the event of any portion of the aforesaid fish having been cooked before or during the quarrel, its flesh would have no more nourishment in it than so much decayed wood, indeed, I have been told that it would be so tasteless that no one could possibly eat it. No reproach would be uttered against the selfish man who had caused this loss to his family and the tribe generally. His punishment would be the silent reprobation of the tribe, who, being a primitive people, with minds as yet unwarped by politics, held strong, though peculiar opinions on the subject of right and wrong.

This tradition as to the *mana* of the Whauwhau-harakeke discloses the fact that the death of any member of the tribe was not a condition precedent to stranding of whales in the vicinity of the Iwi-tuaroa, for if any *tohunga* happened to wound himself, or be

wounded, and washed the blood off near that sacred shrine, that very day would see one or more fish stranded. At least, such would have been the case up to the year 1845 or thereabouts, for since that date, says my informant, no Maori tribe has preserved its *mana*.

My *tohunga* friend is, however, of opinion that the descendants of Irakau have retained their *mana* in one matter, and that is in immunity from death by drowning. Provided always that the parents of the person in danger of such death had not neglected to instruct their child as to the mode of procedure in such cases. Suppose, for instance, that my friend—who is perhaps the only *tohunga* left to his tribe—were to find himself shipwrecked in mid ocean. In such a case he would, as a warrior and learned man, call out in a loud voice. "*E toku tini i uta me toku mano i te wai: ko au tenei, ka mate au. E koro ma e! tikina mai au kawea ki uta.*"* At this call the *taniwha* Ihu-moana would instantly appear, and would be recognised by the fact that he has a hollow place at the back of his head large enough to hold several men, an admirable dispensation of nature, enabling the *taniwha* to dive under drowning men and cleverly catch them in this well-like cavity. This benevolent monster has never failed to bring the descendants of Irakau safely to land, provided always that those whom he sought to save had the decency to refrain from doing certain things, which my friend the *tohunga* classes under the head of "keeping their mouths shut." For instance, there must be no expectoration in mid ocean, no matter how nasty the salt water might be, for that is a matter that no well-conducted *taniwha* can submit to. Furthermore, when Ihumoana and his human freight have reached the shore, it is beyond all things necessary that those saved should recognise the assistance given by Tangaroa to his descendants. The shipwrecked men were required to gather a handful of seaweed from the shore and carry the same a short distance inland, and there deposit it with appropriate thanksgiving, while they there gathered some weeds or grass which they cast into the sea as a solemn offering to Tangaroa. Should this ceremony of thanksgiving be forgotten or neglected, then such careless or unbelieving men would do well to remain for the future on dry land, for the reason that if they should subsequently require the services of Ihumoana, they would call upon him in vain; for such is the nature of Maori gods that however loving or generous they may be in their dealings with men, they none the less will require some recognition of the benefits they may confer.

* Oh my myriads of the land and my thousands of the water, behold I perish. Oh my friends come to my assistance and take me to the shore.

As to the *mana* of the Whauwhau-harakeke, my friend speaks with no uncertain sound. He says, "Only those persons of the *kauwi-ika-moana* who forget to call for assistance, or are ignorant of the proper method of so doing, by reason of a neglected education, can be drowned at sea; and therefore it was that when the Maori King Tawhiao contemplated a journey to England, he turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of Sir George Grey, who pointed out that Tawhiao was about to leave during the stormy season. The king knew that he was a descendant of Irakau, and as such had *mana* over the great fish and *taniwha* of the seas, and therefore could not be drowned, for no matter where he might be wrecked Ihumoana would be at hand, and would, within three days, bring him safe and sound to the shores of New Zealand."

The above sentence contains the opinion of a very learned man, whose name he forbids me to disclose, lest his fellow tribesmen should learn that he had given me information that ought not to have been furnished to a mere *pakeha*. He, I may say, is a man of reputation, one of the few remaining *tohungas* who are capable of explaining the myths that obscure the truths contained in old Maori tradition, and hence it is that he is exceedingly cautious lest he should be accused of having been paid money for the information given.

Very deeply rooted in the Maori mind is the belief that the spirit of departed ancestors are in constant attendance upon living man, always subject to the proviso that the men have sufficient *mana* to warrant the attendance of the ghost folk, the evidence of such a man possessing the required *mana* being manifested to the world by the fact that his action was governed by common sense and prudence. Under such circumstances, any man has a right to demand and expect assistance from the spirits of his ancestors. These spirits are benevolent by nature, for they were once men; but in the Maori conception of Nature there are supernatural beings who, in spite of their semi-human appearance, are wood demons pure and simple, and not to be confounded with the *turehu*, or red-headed dwarf folk. The latter are described as a simple, harmless race, who fear the light of day above all things, but whose deeds of darkness were ever of the most harmless description, even though it be admitted that they did occasionally carry off women and children. Such people have, in the opinion of the Maoris, survived until comparatively recent times, frequenting the dark forest-clad valleys of mountains, such as Pirongia, Moehau, and other places untrodden by the unsanctified foot of the white man. As to the wood demons, the tales told are most amusing, more especially when related by a trained Maori orator, with all the dramatic force

natural to the man and his language. The legend of Tukoio and the *atua* is an instance; but it is not possible to reproduce the tale as I have heard it from the lips of Tuao, chief of Upper Whanganui, for the English language does not altogether lend itself to such fantastic tales. The Maori is more suitable, because more ornamental; moreover, it lends an air of truthfulness to the narrative which will be found wanting in our more prosaic tongue.

It would seem that this Tukoio—who, by the way, was an ancestor of old Tuao—was engaged in spearing birds in the dense forest that fringes the banks of the Whanganui River, and while thus employed saw moving towards him that which appeared to be a *mohoao* (wild man), whose long hair trailed upon the ground. For some time the chief watched this strange being, himself unobserved, and noticed that though unprovided with weapons, the demon darted out his very long arms at each bird that came within reach, and never failed to transfix it on his long finger-nails, which were as sharp as spear-heads. Now, Tukoio had been born and bred in the midst of danger, and, as a descendent of Ruatupua, could fear no living man, but none the less he trembled in the presence of this strange being, and would have retreated had such a course been possible; but it was not, for his first movement riveted the attention of the *atua*, who charged him without the least hesitation. Tukoio recovered his courage at once, and met his foe half way; with his left arm he parried the thrust made at him, and with a single sweep of his greenstone axe severed the *atua's* arm at the wrist. Little cared the demon for this misadventure, for, crying "I have still a stump," he again thrust at Tukoio, and by so doing lost his arm at the shoulder. In this way the combat continued until the demon had lost both arms and legs, and then Tukoio ended the fight by dragging his foe to a big root whereon he cut off his head. A very joyful man was our chief as he gathered up the long hair and threw the head over his shoulders, for no man might deny his prowess while he could produce such a head; and therefore he resolved that the head should be most carefully dried in an oven and preserved among the tribal heirlooms. But as he strode along with his ghastly burden the head spoke, saying, "*E tama ma; kua toto au*" (my children, I am being dragged off). This exhibition of supernatural power was too much for Tukoio's nerves. It was not within his experience that severed heads could speak; he therefore hastily abandoned his trophy and fled in panic to his tribe, to whom he related his surprising adventures. Each warrior seized his weapons and followed his chief to the scene of the combat, but to their great astonishment neither head, arms, legs, or body were

to be seen. Only a great pool of blood testified to the truth of Tukoio's tale. A close search was then instituted and the fact made manifest that the demon, aided by his wife, had succeeded in joining himself together, and that both had taken refuge in a cave on the hill known as Puke-tiotio. From this place they were smoked out, for, says Tuao, "There is nothing so objectionable to a god as fire"; and hence the dislike to have cooked food brought near any place sacred to them—unless, indeed, the food be dedicated solely to their use by those *tohungas* who are the servants of the gods.

"Hurry is the devil," says the Arabic proverb, and verily there is truth in that proverb, for I find that I have neglected to mention one of the most important of the numerous branches of the great *tipua* family. I allude to the birds, forasmuch as it is a matter of tradition that certain members of that family have displayed rare qualities, bordering on the marvellous or, indeed, the supernatural, and have thereby qualified themselves for inclusion among the *tipua* clan, or perhaps among the *atuas*.

The celebrated *tui* bird (Tane-miti-rangi) is an instance of bird *mana*. This *tui* was the familiar spirit of the chief Iwi-katea, who lived in the Hurumua *pa* at Te Wairoa, Hawke's Bay. Tradition alleges that this bird was possessed of more than human intelligence, for not only had it an extensive knowledge of those *karakia* which compel the assistance of the gods in any human project, but it also possessed the highest form of *mana*, the evidence of which is the power to slay human beings by the rites of *whaiwhaia* (witchcraft). For these reasons Tane-miti-rangi was greatly coveted by the neighbouring chiefs, one of whom (known to tradition by the name of Ngarengare) was so ill-advised as to take advantage of the absence of Iwi-katea and most of his merry men and attempted to carry off the bird by force of arms. Far better would it have been for Ngarengare had he left this demon bird alone, for the Maori Nemesis is swift to act, and very soon that chief found himself a fugitive among the Whatumamoa, of Hawke's Bay, most of his followers having been ignominiously slain by the disciples of Tane-miti-rangi.

Another very famous *tui* was that known to the Waikato tribes by the name of Takaha. This bird was owned by the people of Maunga-tautari, and as an instance of its remarkable sagacity it is related that when the Bay of Plenty chief, Apanui, visited Maunga-tautari, the people of the *pa* asked one another, "Who is this stranger"? I need hardly say they did not ask that question of Apanui, for no Maori of old days could possibly have committed such a breach of good manners. They would have murdered him

without compunction; but that is quite another matter—a mere question of environment. The situation was embarrassing, but fortunately the bird heard his friends debating among themselves, and solved the difficulty with these words, "*Uia te manuhiri me kowai te kuti, te whera, te hana, ko Apanui.*" By this speech the Waikato learned the identity of their famous visitor, and were so much pleased that they then and there made him a present of the bird, and shortly after gave him a wife from their tribe, for such was the hospitality of those days.

The birds I have described so far have been classed as *tipuas* by reason only of their great sagacity, bordering closely on the marvellous; but there are other birds which would seem either to have been spirits of departed ancestors or absolute monstrosities who may not be classed as *tipuas*, from the fact that they were in a measure useful to the tribe whose fortunes it pleased them to follow.

Of this nature was the celebrated Kai-a-te-Hihi, a parrot with two heads who, it is said, was the guardian spirit of Wharo, surnamed the man-eater, an important chief of the two tribes Ngati-Maniapoto and Whanganui. The value of this two-headed parrot will be recognised from the following tradition: After the Ngati-Maru had murdered the great warrior, Tu-Te-Mahurangi, Whanganui and Ngati-Tama rose to avenge the outrage, and under the chiefs Tangi, Te Pomua, and Whakaneke attacked the Ngati-Rora, at Parepare. There they slew many people, including Te Ngararamoerua, and in order to assuage the grief of the family of the murdered chief they took the heads of the slain to his sister, Pare-tuhaia, who lived at the Wairere *pa* with her husband, the Wharo aforesaid. Now, Wharo being a man nearly related to both parties, was to either of the belligerents a man of importance, forasmuch that his kinship prevented him from taking an active part in these tribal quarrels; but he recognised that his wife was deeply interested in this particular war-party, and therefore sent her to point out a place where they might camp. While thus engaged, a message came to Pare from her husband, saying, "I have seen Kai-a-te-Hihi on the wing—the bird that never flies unless urged thereto by the spirits of men who are about to die. His appearance is a sign of death and disaster; it will, therefore, be well to warn your relatives to be on their guard." This timely warning put Whanganui on the alert, and no precaution was neglected, for such warnings are from the gods. Sure enough, at grey dawn on the following morning 600 Ngati-Maniapoto fell upon the handful of Whanganui, anticipating an easy victory. But the gods do not always favour the big battalions; nor did they do so on this occasion,

for of the Ngati-Maniapoto the chiefs Hore, Ngaihi, and Rangituataka were slain, the latter being the *ariki* of all Waikato, and of all the chiefs of note; only Wahanui saved his life by hasty and ignominious flight.

It will be noticed that each of the demon birds I have described had its own special use or peculiarity, thus the appearance of Kai-a-te-Hihi was simply a sign of war, and pressaged no special disaster to those to whom it appeared. It is, however, otherwise when the demon *kawau* (cormorant) of the Tuhoe tribe makes her appearance. This bird is known as Hine-Ruarangi, and tradition is responsible for the assertion that she was at one stage of her existence a daughter of that ancient ancestor Toi, the wood eater, and therefore ancestress of all Tuhoe, they being better known as the Ure-wera. Tradition does not say how or why the transformation from the woman into the cormorant was effected, but it is probable that when the woman died her spirit chose to take that particular form of re-incarnation; only one thing is clear, that ever since the death of the woman misfortune or death has been the doom of any member of the tribe to whom she appeared in her cormorant form. Whenever she leaves her haunts in the dark valleys of Tuhoe-land and is seen to fly over either village or war party, so surely will the chief of that village die and great disaster overtake the war party. Of this baleful influence many instances might be given, but as Mr. Best has already written in the "Otago Witness" on this subject, I will refrain from repetition.

I have already mentioned that under certain circumstances duly set forth, Maori gods will assist men in their worldly undertakings, but it must not be inferred that they are always complaisant, they can and will punish as well as reward. There are traditions that show that any infraction of the law of *tapu* will be punished with remarkable promptitude.

The tale, as I have heard it, shows that there was a god called Te Ririo, whose abode was at Te Matahina, on the slope of the Kaimanawa Mountains. Now, this god carried off Te Hau-kopeke, a member of the Ngati-Awa tribe, and was moved to this act of unceremonious abduction by the fact that the said Hau-kopeke had eaten the sacred food called *te matatapu*. I may here explain that the *matatapu* is food that a *tokunga* may dream of as having been presented to him by the gods. This food may be a man or a pig or, indeed, anything eatable whatsoever, so long as the fact that it would presently come into possession be revealed in a dream. When it was made manifest that such a gift would be made, then it behoved the *tokunga* to bear the fact carefully in mind, so that when in due

course the gift came to hand, it might be solemnly dedicated to the use of the god who had, without doubt, provided it for the benefit of the tribe. The system in plain English was, that the god should partake of the essence of the food and the tribe of the substance thereof, an arrangement that suited both parties. If, however, the *tohunga*, whether from neglect or impiety, failed to perform the ceremony of *whangai hau* over this food, then he might fairly be said to have eaten the *matatapu*. Such was the case in this instance; Te Hau-kopeke had neglected the ceremony, and had thereby incurred the anger of the god Ririo.

It is not alleged that anyone saw the old *tohunga* carried off, but his cries for assistance were heard as he was whirled through the tree tops on his aerial journey towards the Kaimanawa Mountains. When the tribe realised their loss, the old men and *tohungas* assembled round the tribal *tuahu* (altar), and there, standing in a circle at intervals of a fathom and a-half, girt about with fern leaves, they remained in an attitude of supplication, awaiting the pleasure of the angry diety. For seven nights Te Hau-kopeke was missing, and for all that time the priests and elders stood round the altar silent and without food; but on the seventh, day Te Ririo took compassion on these obstinately holy men, and returned Te Hau-kopeke to them, not in any spirit of love or gentleness, but with little ceremony, seeing that he was thrown through the tops of the low trees, and fell heavily to the ground just outside the *kainga*. Small cause for wonder that the old man had one thigh broken; and, according to this veracious chronicle, he was otherwise injured.

To the belief that it was good policy to propitiate the tribal god, we may trace the origin of those instances of human sacrifice of which we have record among the Maoris. Probably this custom was more common in Polynesia than in New Zealand, for the true Maori, notwithstanding his ferocity of character, did not lightly sacrifice men or women; his mind was of the practical order, and did not permit him to waste men for merely prospective benefits; but there were occasions on which it became the duty of the tribe to sacrifice some one or more persons as a *whangai-atua*, in order to give *eclat* to some great tribal work. When Ngati-Whakaue rebuilt their great *pa* at the Pukeroa, all the tribes in that vicinity lived for a while in a state of apprehension, for they knew full well that some victims would be required to sanctify the work, nor did they breath freely until the blow had fallen on Ngati-Tura.

Occasionally these sacrifices were dictated by mere vanity and love of notoriety, for it is recorded in an old song [see J. P. S., Vol. xiii., p. 158] that when Taraia migrated from Turanganui

to Hawke's Bay he, after conquering the ancient tribes of that land, built a house, and in order to impress his subjects with a due sense of his *mana*, caused his infant daughter to be placed under the main post of the house. By this act Taraia acquired a cheap but useful reputation among the neighbouring tribes. I say cheap because it has been shown in the Native Land Court that though Taraia did probably order this barbarous thing to be done, yet it was not carried out, the child was rescued by one of the workmen, who secreted her until she had grown to womanhood, when he took her to wife and lived happily ever after. Meanwhile neither the house nor Taraia were a bit the worse for the rescue; the matter was kept quiet, and the father's reputation as a savage of the very first class was preserved.

A lavish sacrifice of human life has lately been disclosed on the ancient site of the *pa* called Tawhiti-rahi, that is on the proper left bank of the Opotiki River. The present owner of this place, while levelling the old ditches of the fort, thought it advisable to dig up the butts of some old *puriri* (*Vitex littoralis*) posts that had at one time supported the palisades of the *pa*. These butts, though nearly two feet in diameter, and of a wood that is held to be almost indestructable, were, with the exception of a small core, found to be mere dust. But the levelling revealed the interesting fact that no less than thirteen skeletons were found in such positions as to warrant the belief that they had been placed in the holes at the same time as the posts, and were probably buried alive. The Maoris of Opotiki have occupied the district for the last ten generations, but have no traditions as to these skeletons, they, however, assert that Tawhiti-rahi was built by those whom they drove away from the district. That the original *pa* was of very ancient date may be inferred from the fact that the bones I have mentioned crumbled into dust after a few days' exposure to the air; only the teeth remained intact, covered with beautiful white enamel, but so worn by the constant chewing of fern root that in many cases the fangs extended upwards within a sixteenth of an inch of the surface of the teeth. From this fact I think that we may assume that even at that remote date the strong common sense of the Maori had asserted itself, and that they had selected only very old people to endow the palisades of their *pa* with the *mana* required.

The sacrifice of human victims may, in certain cases, become a matter of necessity, in order to ensure the safety of the tribe, if it had experienced serious reverses in war. In such a case it became a matter of life and death to those concerned, that the tribal deity should be propitiated and his concurrence obtained to their schemes.

During the war between the Ngai-Tai tribes and the Whakatohea, of Opotiki, the latter were twice defeated with great loss. Now, from the Maori point of view, such a disaster could have resulted only by reason of the anger or indifference of their tribal god, and hence that deity had to be propitiated, no matter how great the cost. In this extremity the tribe consulted their great priest Puna-hamoa, and he, after a long consultation with the powers of the nether world, announced that all of the half-caste Ngai-Tai then living among the Whakatohea must be sacrificed to appease the wrath of the god Tama-i-waho. The tribe consented to be guided by the priest, and repressing all feeling for those so nearly related to them, slew the half-castes. This action had the very happiest results, for when the two tribes next met in battle at Te Ahi-tarakihi, the Ngai-Tai were terribly defeated, and in the next affair at Te Awahou were almost wiped out of existence.

Very whimsical tasks were occasionally imposed upon the tribes by their gods. Just before the fight at Te Awahou, Puna-hamoa intimated to his people that they would be victorious, but that Tama-i-waho required that the last thing killed on that day should be a fish. Accordingly, when the Ngai-Tai had been pursued and slaughtered as far as Torere, the whole army of the Whakatohea devoted itself to fishing, and did not desist until it had caught a *kahawai*, which was forthwith offered to the god in order to avert future ill-fortune.

The most politic and useful of all the superstitious institutions of the Maori people is that which involves the rites of *tapu*. It has always seemed to me that this institution, with its far-reaching ramifications, must have been the conception of a very gifted mind, for, as a governing factor, it is very superior to the Hindu institution of caste. It must, moreover, have been initiated during a period of civilisation, to which the Polynesians have long been strangers, but with which at one period of their history they were sufficiently familiar.

The highly civilised European, who is prone to assume that he alone of all men is without superstition, can have no conception of the value of the *tapu* to an old-time Maori community. Let us, however, consider the subject, remembering that in the Maori tribe we had a condition of society that can hardly be said to have existed elsewhere. The Maori was a man whose traditions and education tended only towards two ends—viz., obedience to the gods and man-slaughter. They were a people proud of their descent from those very gods, whose paternal care had enabled their forefathers to cross the broad "Sea of Kiwa" with impunity, and perform feats of

navigation that are without parallel in modern times, and only to be equalled by the Vikings of the North Sea. But they were a haughty democracy, and, notwithstanding the natural respect felt for the eldest born and for unblemished pedigree, would not hesitate to depose their own chiefs when the occasion appeared to demand extreme measures. Moreover, the Maoris had neither written laws nor police, and were deeply impressed with the dangerous conviction that it was not only a duty, but also a virtue, to uphold their blood relations against the whole world, no matter how heinous the offence of those relatives may have been against the unwritten law or customs of the country.

It will be freely admitted that such a race of men would, under any circumstances, be difficult to manage, and yet we find that in their own *pas* or villages they were as obedient, orderly, and law-abiding as any statute-ridden Anglo-Saxon; and that such order prevailed among such a fierce and turbulent race ought to be susceptible of explanation, and I hold that the power of the *tapu* was the chief factor by which the difficulty was solved.

There are many forms of *tapu*, each of which has its own special value; but the greatest among them is the personal *tapu*, which must necessarily accompany high birth, and which is almost invariably combined with the *mana* that the gods never fail to bestow upon those whom they select as rulers of men. A chief of this type would of course be dangerous to his own tribe, forasmuch as mere contact with his followers and inferiors would probably slay them out of hand very much as the lightning may blast a tree. Be it remembered that such a man, being the eldest son of many generations of eldest sons, had for unnumbered generations been sacred, and was therefore surrounded by a halo of *tapu*, regarded with the utmost veneration by his people, and obeyed in all lawful things without question or murmur. Had the power of the *tapu* ended here, it would still have had important results, for, as I have said, the Maori is naturally impatient of control, and prone to acts of violence on small provocation, and hence a giant stride had been made in the art of government when the man who became chief of his tribe by right of both heredity and election was also invested with a sacred character. In such a state of society the fear of death did not exist as a sentiment; but the fear of the *tapu* did, and therefore the Maori obtained the restraining principle, without which peace and order could not have been ensured among the many families of which the tribe was composed.

Occasionally whole districts were declared to be *tapu* on very slight and on what we should deem to be insufficient grounds.

Suppose that a child had been drowned in any river and the body not immediately recovered. That river would be declared *tapu*, and, in addition, the parents would by the law of *murū* be robbed of all personal property, as a gentle and salutary warning to be more careful of the tribal property, for such was the position held by a child.

I do not contend that every imposition of the *tapu* conferred a benefit on the tribe, but I do hold that this ceremony had the effect of a mental discipline, teaching the Maoris the greatest of all lessons—that of self-denial and subordination. The subject is one that might be treated at some length, but I do not now propose to do more than mention it in connection with other Maori superstitions.

In addition to the very natural dread of the avenging spirit-world that was undoubtedly felt by those who had broken the *tapu*, they had also the certainty before them that any act of desecration or even infringement of the law of *tapu* would be promptly avenged by the secular arm of the tribe. During the Waikato war a very great chief of the Ngati-Maru, of Hauraki—Te Moananui—proclaimed a *tapu* over the road at Wai-patu-kahu. This was probably done to annoy those members of his tribe who wanted to join the Waikato against the *pakeha*, since it forced them to make a long detour; but whatever the reason, it certainly did inconvenience a good many people, who nevertheless submitted gracefully, excepting only one, Reihana Te Putu, an influential chief of Ngati-Whanaunga, who, being on his way to Waikato, and presumably in a hurry, ventured to ride across the *tapu*. Unfortunately for him he was seen and pursued and his horse shot under him, and though he succeeded in escaping, three more shots were fired at him as he fled for his life. Let no one think that Reihana felt that he had been ill-treated; on the contrary, he felt the greatest possible respect for the way in which Ngati-Maru guarded the tribal *mana*.

The Maori is second to none in his belief in the efficacy of charms, especially those which are supposed to govern love affairs. Indeed, their creed amounts to this: that given a *tohunga* with the requisite knowledge and *mana*, any man could be made to love any woman, and *vice versa*. I have myself heard of two historical instances of this nature, and in each case the method adopted was the same, and sufficiently curious to warrant the narration of the tradition.

Seventeen generations ago there dwelt on the Titirangi Hill, near the present town of Gisborne, a chief called Tahito-kura. Now, at one of the many gatherings of the Turanga tribes this man had

seen a girl of the Pane-nehu clan, from the Bay of Plenty, whose name is known to posterity as Tao-putaputa, and had fallen deeply in love with that young woman. There is an air of truthfulness about this tale which is quite in accord with the old proverb, "that the course of true love never does run smoothly," for Tao-putaputa was about the last woman on whom our chief should have set his affections, inasmuch as the relations existing between the two tribes were somewhat more than strained, and therefore he dare not approach his lady-love, and had no means of pleading his suit. Under these embarrassing circumstances, he had recourse to the ancient priestly lore of his ancestors, for he was fortunately a man learned in the *karakia* of the Maori people, and could therefore call upon the powers of the outer world to aid him. To this end he procured a sea-shell and breathed over it certain incantations, which had the effect of inducing a spirit to enter therein. He then threw the shell into the sea at the mouth of the Turanga River, using these words, "Speed thee as a messenger to my love; be not dismayed at the raging sea or breaking waves, for thou art the messenger of a chieftain's love. Let the south wind speed thee, and the north wind favour thee. Depart for Opape" (the home of the Pane-nehu). Now, it was the work of the women of Opape to gather shell-fish from the rocks and sandy bays when the tide was low, and therefore Tao-putaputa and her companions were so engaged when they noticed an exceedingly fine shell. Each of the women in turn picked it up and examined it and threw it away, until at last Tao-putaputa took it in her hand. Then the spirit knew that it had found the right woman, and would not be denied. In vain the girl threw the shell from her, in whatsoever direction she turned there was the shell; the other women had gathered food for their families, but for her there was only this demon shell. "Alas," said she, "I am haunted by a mischievous spirit, and must suspend the shell round my neck to keep it out of my sight." By this means she was able to see and gather other shell-fish; but the spirit was hard at work, and soon the girl became restless, and experienced an indescribable longing for something—she knew not what. That night, however, the object of her desire was revealed to her, for in her sleep she saw Tahito-kura, and from that moment he was ever in her thoughts. At last, so strong was the impulse that she deserted her tribe and, travelling alone through forests and over mountains, reached Turanganui, where she found her lover and became his wife and the ancestress of all the people of the East Coast.

A very similar tale is told of one Reipae, a chieftainess of the Ngati-Apakura. This woman was seen and beloved by one of the

Nga-Puhi, who being unable, for tribal reasons, to communicate with the object of his affections, caught a hawk, and by the power of his *karakia*, compelled it to fly into the Waikato country, where it found Reipae and other women of the tribe sitting outside their houses. The hawk hovered over them until it had attracted attention, and then it dropped a feather that fell upon Reipae. Within a very few days the woman realised that she must follow the fortunes of the Nga-Puhi chief, of whose very existence she had but lately become cognisant. Impelled by this sentiment she journeyed northwards, alone and unattended, until she reached the object of her affections.

In each of these cases the leading idea would seem to have been that mere contact with something that had been charmed for a special purpose, would induce the frame of mind desired. The same idea governs the course pursued by a wizard, when he is bent on bewitching a victim to his death; only in this instance it is necessary to procure an article that has belonged to the doomed person, no matter what it may be. This object is called an *ohonga*, and by its means the *hau* or spiritual and intellectual essence of the victim is acted upon, and his or her death effected.

Any article purporting to describe Maori manners and customs would be incomplete without some mention of the science of *makutu* (witchcraft), for there is no form of superstitious belief in which the Maori places more implicit reliance. He believes that there are certain persons who have power of life and death over others, and that they obtain this power by virtue of their knowledge of certain rites and forms of invocation by which malignant spirits may be compelled to enter into and compass the death of the bewitched one. My readers will probably regard this statement as a monstrous absurdity, but none the less it is a fact that I could, until lately, have removed any Maori out of my way by giving a sufficient consideration to some great *tohunga* in order to secure his friendly co-operation. In very obstinate cases I might possibly have had to let the doomed man know what I had done. It is well known that the late chief of the Ngai-Tai, Wi Kingi, a most intelligent man, believed that he had been bewitched, and died like a man and a Maori, killed by nothing but *makutu*.

There are some tribes in New Zealand who have but little knowledge of the science of witchcraft, but there are others, for the most part, the descendants of Toi-kai-rakau, the ancient people of the land, who are notorious professors of the black art. They are the Tuhoe, Ngati-Awa, the Ngai-Tane, of Waiapu, and the Whanau-a-te-Haemata. Naturally enough, I have, during a long residence among the Maoris, heard of many instances of bewitchment, but I

know of no more interesting case than the following :—

A young chief, whom we will call Te Moana, being smitten by the charms of a certain damsel of the same tribe, became painfully aware that the course of true love seldom runs smoothly. The relations on both sides strongly objected to the match, and it came to pass that the lovers, with that strange obedience to the will of the majority, which is such a remarkable feature of Maori social life, agreed to part. Before doing so the girl drew from her finger the marriage ring of a former husband, and gave it to her lover, saying, "Keep this for my sake, but should you be the first to marry you must return it to me. If, however, I should be the first to marry, then you may keep the ring." With this understanding the two parted, and very shortly after the young woman, whose feelings had evidently not been deeply involved, married clandestinely, and somewhat more than a year after her example was followed by Te Moana, but openly and in the sight of all men. Then the girl called on Te Moana to return the ring, but he held to their compact, and refused to deliver up the keepsake on the grounds that he knew that she had for months been privately married. On this refusal the girl vowed vengeance, and as a preliminary measure called to her aid a South Sea Islander named Friday, who had the reputation of being exceedingly learned in the black art. Now, this combination against the life of Te Moana was real enough, but it was not known to that man until revealed to him in a dream. That night, while in a dream-like trance, he saw the girl interview the Kanaka and offer him a reward if he would only bewitch the dreamer. Friday at first refused to take the matter in hand, saying, "I am living among these people and cannot betray them." The girl was, however, importunate, and finally offered her ally ten pounds. This large sum of money effectively dispelled any scruples that Friday may have had, for in his dream Te Moana saw him go direct to a running stream, where he muttered the incantations suitable for the meditated crime.

On the following morning Te Moana related his *matakite* to all his friends and relatives, and announced that he was about to die, and having thus declared his intention, did absolutely depart this life on the third day thereafter. Meanwhile Friday, disturbed in mind by an evil conscience, and justly apprehensive for his own safety, had fled in the direction of Taupo; whither he was shortly after followed by certain relatives of the deceased named respectively Peko and Tahana. These men overtook the fugitive, and being without fear of any law whatsoever, either human or divine, tied him hand and foot, bound him securely to his saddle, and literally packed him back to the Otautu village whence he had fled, and where his victim was

lying still unburied. About this period some busybody must have conveyed notice of Friday's capture to the authorities at Wellington, who on their part communicated with Mr. Kenrick, R.M., and probably requested him to enquire into the very irregular proceedings of Te Moana's adherents, and if possible save the man Friday. However it may have come to pass, certain it is that Mr. Kenrick appeared unexpectedly on the scene, accompanied by a gentleman whose knowledge of the people of that district and their language was invaluable at the time.

When the Government officers reached the village they found that all the neighbouring tribes had assembled to lament over the deceased, but Friday was not to be seen. Mr. Kenrick opened the proceedings by informing the mourners that the Government had received information to the effect that they had kidnapped Friday, and that he had reason to believe that the man was held in durance by them; he therefore demanded that the captive should be produced, in order that he might be questioned as to the treatment he had received. After much prevarication it was admitted that Friday had been captured, but every man agreed that they did not know where he then was. The general impression seemed to be that he had run away to the bush. One man went so far as to pretend to go in search of him, but this pretence was too thin. It was therefore made clear to the whole tribe that if Friday was not forthcoming it would be presumed that they had destroyed him, and in such case, however painful the duty might be, the kidnappers must be arrested. This speech simplified matters, and the Maoris, after a little further search, made for the sake of appearances, announced that Friday had been found, and that he would appear when he had completed his toilet. Meanwhile the Maoris employed the time at their disposal in cajoling or frightening their captive, for when at last he appeared and was asked whether or not he was in bodily fear of the Maoris, or wished to leave them, he replied doggedly, "Why should I fear them?" and added that he had no desire to leave. Under these circumstances nothing could be done, but when taking leave Mr. Kenrick warned the people of the village that they would be held responsible for Friday's safety, since, whatever their present attitude, he had no reason to doubt that their original intentions had been murderous.

It was subsequently ascertained that before Mr. Kenrick arrived in the village, Tahana had actually been told off to execute Friday, and that the ceremony only awaited the arrival of the last party of the deceased's relatives, who arrived before the Magistrate left the village.

It may, perhaps, be asked why the culprit in this case should not have been executed, and to this I can only reply that in dealing with Maoris the Government of New Zealand have always been subject to fits of spasmodic virtue, during which they have done strange things.

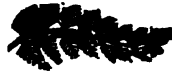
Friday may be considered a very lucky man, as on such occasions the criminal does not always escape the penalty of his evil deeds, nor is he invariably protected by the Government of the country. He sometimes finds that such crimes are avenged in a very summary and complete manner. Only a few years ago at Mataora there occurred a case of witchcraft that ended in the death of a member of the Tuhoe tribe. This man, whether with or without reason, believed that he had been bewitched, and so believing died, accusing a certain *tohunga* of having compassed his death. Now the Tuhoe are about the last people in the world that it is safe to injure, for sooner or later, satisfaction they must and will have, but, like all Maoris, they can bide their time whenever they find it expedient to do so.

It so happened that about the date of this man's death there was a party of the same tribe living in the neighbourhood of Mataora engaged in the congenial occupation of gum-digging, and these men conceived and carried out a carefully laid scheme of vengeance that was infinitely creditable to them as a Maori tribe. It was quietly ascertained that the men of Mataora would for a week or so be engaged in fishing on certain banks or shoals at some distance from the mainland, and, further, that the offending *tohunga* did not as a rule accompany the fishing-party. On this information they laid their plans, and after procuring a few large and one light swift canoes, they watched until the Mataora fishermen were well away from the land, and then taking one of their prettiest girls as a decoy they paddled along the shore to the village.

On their arrival they were met by the *tohunga* and welcomed, and they then explained that they had come to visit their fellow-tribesman. This they did in order to throw the villagers off their guard, by professing ignorance of his death; and the *tohunga* fell into the trap by saying that the man they sought was some distance inland planting potatoes. Tuhoe pretended to be satisfied with the explanation, and fraternised with their hosts, the girl making herself specially agreeable to the *tohunga*, so much so that when they bade good-bye to Mataora, that functionary followed them to the beach. Here some of the visitors got their canoes afloat, while others lingered near the doomed man. Suddenly, at a signal from the canoes, the *tohunga* found himself on his back, tied hand and foot,

and the next instant he was thrown like a pig into the before-mentioned swift canoe, which was at once paddled seaward, and when sufficiently far from land to make things certain he was ruthlessly thrown overboard and left to drown.

His murderers made the best of their way to their own country, satisfied that they at least had done their duty, and since that day no member of the Tuhoe clan has visited Mataora, nor, perhaps, would it be quite safe for any one of them to do so, for even though the relatives of the *tohunga* could be brought to admit the justice of the retribution, that admission could not affect the duty they owe to themselves and tribe to kill some man of the Tuhoe, and balance accounts *a la Maori*.





TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF COUNCIL.

The Council met after the Annual Meeting on 30th January, 1906.

Present: The President, Messrs. Fraser, Corkill, Kerr, Newman, and Skinner.

The minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed, and correspondence, etc., read.

The President reported that application to the Japan Society and Philosophical Society of Cambridge had resulted in the receipt of back volumes of their transactions for some years past.

New Members:—

- 370 Victor S. Lardelli, Whangara, Gisborne, N.Z.
- 371 The Field Colombian Museum, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 372 G. H. Scholefield, N.Z. Times Office, Wellington, N.Z.

Papers received:—

- 276 Takapau historical notes, by Tanguru Tuhua.
- 277 South Wairarapa historical notes. Major Tunui-a-rangi.
- 278 The Tipua-Kura. Coln. W. E. Gudgeon.
- 279 Hunakeha. W. T. Morpeth.
- 280 Origin of Aitutaki Tatoo. Coln W. E. Gudgeon.

Messrs. Corkhill, Fraser, Samuel, and the President were appointed a deputation to wait on the Technical School authorities to see if any arrangement could be made in reference to a room for the Library.

The following List of Exchanges was read:—

- 1863 *La Alumino Terma, Real Academia, &c., de Barcelona.* 1905.
- 1864-8 *Memorias, Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona.*
Vol. v., 9 to 13.
- 1869 *Queensland Geographical Journal.* Vol. xx.
- 1870 *Public Library, Melbourne. Catalogue of Current Periodicals.* 1905
- 1871 *Franciso Martonell y Pena. Biography.* Barcelona. 1905.
- 1872 *Transactions, New Zealand Institute.* Vol. xxxvii. 1905.
- 1873 *Transactions, Canadian Institute.* Vol. viii., 1.
- 1874-6 *Na Mata.* October to December, 1905.
- 1877-80 *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. i., 1,
2, 3, 4. 1905.
- 1881-2 *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. lxxiii. Pt. 1 and pt. 3.
- 1883 *Bishop's Museum, Honolulu. Directors' Report for 1904.*
- 1884 *Bishop's Museum, Honolulu. Fauna Hawaïiensis.* Vol. iii. Pt. 4.
- 1885 *Hibbert's Journal.* October, 1905.
- 1886 *The Negritos of Zambales. Dept. of Ethnology, Philippines.* 1904.
- 1886-7 *American Antiquarian.* Vol. xxvii., pt. 2, 3. 1905.
- 1888 *Journal, Anthropological Institute, Great Britain and Ireland.*
Vol. xxxv. 1905.
- 1889-91 *Bulletins et Memoires, Société de Anthorologie de Paris.* xv.,
pt. 16; xvi., pt. 1 and 2.

- 1892-5 *The Geographical Journal*. September to December, 1905.
1896 *Transactions, &c., Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*. No. 35
1897 *Blockade of Quebec in 1775-6*. " " "
1898-1903 *La Géographie*. April to August, 1905.
1903-4 *Mitteilungen, Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Wien*. xxxiv., 6;
xxxv., 7.
1905-6 *Records, Australian Museum*. Vol. v. 6, vi. 2
1907 *Journal, Royal Colonial Institute*. December, 1905
1908-12 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Aug. to Dec., 1905
1913 *Transactions, Wisconsin Academy*. Vol. xiv. pt. 2, 1904
1914 *Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution*. 1903
1915 *University of California, The Morphology of the Hupa Language*
1916 *University of California, History and Organisation of the Department of Anthropology*. 1905
1917 *University of California, Basket Designs of the N.W. Californian Indians*
1918 *University of Montana, Report*. 1905
1928 *University of Montana, President's Report*. 1903-4
1921 *Bijdragen Taal Land Volkenkunde, &c., Koninklijk Instituut Deel*
lvi.
1922 *Inventaris van voorwerpen alkomstig van de Gajo atas en Bataklanden, The Hague*
1923 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde, Batavian Society of Arts*. Deel xlviii. pt. 2
1924 *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen*. Deel. xliii.,
pt. 2 and 3
1925 *Tjeribowsch Wetboek*. Deel. lv. 1768,
1926-28 *Proceedings, Cambridge Philosophical Society*. Vol. x., xi., xii.
1929-34 *Transactions of the Japan Society*. Vol. ii., iii., iv., v.; pt. 1
and 2 of Vol. vi.



HE KORERO TATAI MO HOREHORE PA, I TE TAKAPAU.

NA TANGURU TUHUA I TUHITUHI.

HE KUPU whakamaramatanga ki nga putake korero o nehera, no te tau 1865 i whakamaramatia ai e Tuhua ki au, ki tona uri, ko Tanguru Tuhua o Te Takapau, koia tenei :

Ko te putake mai o tenei tipuna o Whata, ko Pou-heni. He tamaiti a Pou-heni na Paikea. I te whakatupuranga mai i a Pou-heni, ko Turanga-nui-a-Rua to ratou whenua nohoanga, kei te takiwa o te tai-rawhiti, me era atu whenua, to ratou nohoanga.

A, i te whakatupuranga mai i a Pou-heni tae noa ki te whakatupuranga i a Whata, ka tuaono nga whakatupuranga, ka eke a Whata ki runga ki tenei whenua noho ai. Ka nohohia e ia teteahi o nga puke whenua i te takiwa o nga maunga nei, ko Rangi-tapu-a-Whata tona ingoa. Ko tona nohoanga tena i te timatanga o tana noho i te whenua nei.

A, i te wa i a Whata ka noho tuturu ki runga ki te whenua nei, ka tipu tetahi pakanga i waenga-nui i a raua ko Tongo-whiti ; ko te putake o ta raua tau-whaingā, mo te moana tuna, mo Whatuma. Ka korero a Tongo-whiti, ko te rarangi hiwi o te takiwa o te whenua e noho ra ia hei poa tatairanga hinaki māna, mo nga tuna o Whatuma. Heoi, ka rongō a Whata i te whakaaro o Tongo-whiti e tango ana i te moana mana anake.

He mahinga tuna i taua wa tonu ; ka mahia e Tongo-whiti nga po, kia roroa ; ka mahia hoki e Whata nga rarangi hiwi kei runga i te whenua e noho ra ia hei tatairanga hinaki māna. A i te otinga, ka tikarohia te po e Whata kia tere ai te awateatanga. Heoi, riro ana te moana i a Whata, riro tonu ake i a ia te māna o te moana. A waiho tonu iho hei kupu whakatauki mo a matou tipuna, " Ko a Whata tatai hinaki i puta ki waho, ko a Tongo-whiti i pae-a-rau." Koia i tapā ai e Tongo-whiti te ingoa o tona whenua ko Paeroa.

A, i muri iho o te whakatupuranga mai o nga uri mokopuna a Tongo-whiti, ka kohurutia a Te Awariki e Rua-tamore ratou ko tona iwi. A i muri iho ka ngakia e Ngaroroa te matenga o tona papa, o Te Awariki, ka hinga te parekura ko Ti-kauka-nui, ka mate a Rua-tamore me tona iwi. Ka tuatia te ingoa o te whenua e noho ra nga uri mokopuna o Tongo-whiti, ko Wai-kopiro-o-Rua-tamore, a e mau nei taua ingoa tae noa ki tenei ra.

A, i a Whata ka noho tuturu ki runga ki te whenua e kiia nei e ia he pa tunga hinaki nana, ka tipu mai tona uri ko Whatonga; ka moe i tana wahine, i a Hau-karanga-roa, a, no te whakatupuranga mai i te tamaiti a Whata, i a Whatonga kuao, e rima nga whakatupuranga ki tona mokopuna, ki a Rakai-marō.

A, ka moe a Rakai-marō i tana wahine, i a Hine-rau-te-kawa, o te taha Rangi-tane. A, ko te kapitiranga tenei o te aitanga a Whata ki roto ki te taha Rangi-tane; ka tuturu ta ratou noho i runga i te whenua, nei ano he iwi kotahi ratou. No taua wa ano ka tuatia e ratou etahi o nga ingoa o nga hiwi kei runga o te whenua e noho ra ratou: koia tenei a ratou ingoa i tapā ai; ko Te Pokaka, ko Horehore, ko Puena, ko Puke-totara, ko Ruru-whango.

Heoi, i taua wa tonu i a ratou e noho huihui na, ka mahia e te Aitanga-a-Whata, e Rangi-tane iwi hoki, a Horehore pa, hei pa mo ratou. A ka noho huihui ratou, a, e rua o ratou karanga ingoa iwi, ko Te Aitanga-a-Whata, a ko Rangi-tane. A, ka tipu mai i roto i o ratou whakatupuranga, ara, i te moenga o Rakai-marō i a Hine-rau-te-kawa, ka puta mai a raua uri tokotoru; ko Piki-hau-ariki, ko Korako-tai-waha, ko Pine-nau; tokotoru ratou he tane katoa.

A, no te whakatupuranga mai o nga uri tokotoru a Rakai-marō, a, he roa te wa e noho huihui ana ratou. A, i muri iho ka wehe a Korako-tai-waha raua ko tona taina, ko Pine-nau ki roto ki te riu o Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, a, tae noa ki o raua uri mokopuna te noho tuturu ki taua whenua.

Ko to raua tuakana, ko Piki-hau-ariki i noho tuturu ki runga ki te whenui i kiia ra e Whata, he pa tataitanga tuna, ki te tuna māna. A, i muri mai i nga uri o Piki-hau-ariki, ara, i a Te Ahiahi-o-tau raua ko tona taina, ko Hine-auahi ka moe i tana tane ia Ira-kumia ka noho tuturu atu a Hine-auahi ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua; ka noho ko tona tuakana, ko Te Ahiahi-o-tau, i te whenua nei, i Nga-kai-hinaki-a-Whata, a, i toru ai a ratou whakatupuranga i a Te Ahiahi-o-tau, Tu-karaerae, o Nehunga, a, no te whakatupuranga i a Nehunga ka moe i tana tane, i a Amo-ake-te-rangi; ko te kapititanga tenei o Te Aitanga-a-Whata, o Rangi-tane iwi ki roto ki te taha Ngai-Tahu—ka toru ai o ratou wehenga iwi i a ratou.

A, ka puta mai nga tamariki a Amo-ake-te-rangi raua ko Nehunga ko Te Kura-taka-whaki to mua, ko Tu-karangatia to muri. A, ka tupu i te whakatupuranga i a Te Kura-taka-whaki; e rima ona whakatupuranga ki ona hua-mokopuna, ki a Hika-rahui, a ka tupu mai hoki i te whakatupuranga i te tungane o Te Kura-taka-whaki, i a Tu-karangatia, e wha nga whakatupuranga ki tana uri mokopuna, ki a Te Mahanga.

A, he roa to ratou noho tuturu ki runga i te whenua nei, a, i te wa i a Tama-i-waho, i a Hika-rahui, i a Te Rangi-tataia, ka tukua to ratou whenua ki a Te Rehunga, ki a Te Manawa-kawa, hei utu mo ta ratou kai-hau-kai, mo Nga-tau-tuku-roa. I whakatakatoria taua kai-hau-kai ki Te Takapau-o-Rangi-i-waho nei; ko te tuturutanga tenei o te whenua nei ki te riro i a Te Rehunga ratou ko Manawa-kawa, me o ratou hoa rangatira, me o ratou iwi, me o ratou hapu.

Heoi, ko te whakaekenga tenei o nga iwi nana i mahi te kai-hau-kai a Nga tau-tuku-roa; ka eke mai hoki a Te Rehunga raua ko Te Manawa-kawa ki runga ki te whenua i whakautua nei mo ta ratou kai; a, he roa to ratou nohoanga i runga i te whenua nei.

A, i muri ka tonoa a Te Hore, tetei o nga wahine o Rangi-tane, e Te Rehunga hei wahine māna. A, no tena wa tonu ka pakuha, a ko te take tenei i haere ai a Te Rehunga ki Tamaki noho ai. A, i muri iho ka eke atu nga iwi o Te Rehunga ki Tamaki noho ai. I taua wa tonu ka tohu ki nga iwi o Te Rehunga ki nga wahi e mahia ana e Rangi-tane ki te kai ma ratou. Heoi, ka tae te mohiotanga ki te iwi Rangi-tane e murua ana to ratou whenua—a Tamaki-nui-a-Rua—e Te Rehunga ratou ko ona iwi, katahi ka tikina e Rangi-tane ka poua te rahui ki Tuhi-mata, hei whakatapu mo to ratou whenua, mo Tamaki, ka tuatia hoki te ingoa ko "Puaki-te-ao." Ka rongo nga iwi o Te Rehunga raua ko Manawa-kawa i te rahui ra, ka tikina e ratou ka tapahia te rahui i tu ki te hiwi i Tuhi-mata. A, i taua wa tonu ka tikina e Rangi-tane, ka whakaarahia ta ratou pou-rahui ki runga tu ai.

A, ka tupu te kino ki waenga i nga iwi nei, a, ka whakaarahia tonutia e Rangi-tane, i taua wa tata tonu; kaweā atu ana ta ratou patunga tuatahi tonu, ko te Pakaroa, he parekura; ko Kota-tai-whetu, he parekura ano; kei te takiwa o Te Takapau tenei parekura a Rangi-tane. A, i taua wa tata tonu ano ka whakaekē ano e Rangi-tane ko Nga-hore, he pa tahuri; ko Te Moana-i-rokia, he pa tahuri ano. Ka mate i roto i te pa nei a Kahu-torua waea o Rangi-te-kahutia. A, i muri iho i te mutunga o ta ratou taute i runga i ta ratou pa-tahuri, ka tikina e Rangi-tane ka patua e ratou a Tama-i-waho ki Manga-tarata. No taua wa tonu ka maunu mai a Te Rehunga me tetahi wehenga o tona iwi, ka noho ki roto ki te pa, ki Horehore.

I muri iho ka haere a Te Rehunga ratou ko tona iwi ki Pou-kawa moana ka noho ki roto ki te pa, ki Wheao. No taua takiwa ka tutu-tauatia e Te Rehunga nga iwi o roto o Heretaunga. A, i muri iho ka tutakitaki ratou ko Rangi-tane ki te takiwa o Te Piripiri, ka hinga te parekura, ka mate i konei te iwi o Te Rehunga raua ko Te Manawa-kawa me o raua hoa rangatira; a he nui atu te hiuganga o ta raua ope-taua; koia tenei to ratou tokomahatanga, o nga rangatira i mate i taua parekura a Rangi-tane; ko Tu-taua, ko Te Kiri-pu-noa, ko Tawa-rora, ko Tau-hinu, ko Te Rangi-hou-tihi, ko Te Ake-tahi me era atu rangatira. Heoi, ka rere morehu mai a Te Rehunga raua ko Te Manawa-kawa me nga morehu o to raua iwi, a, ka noho ratou ki Hiku-rangi, wahi o Tawhiao, a, i muri iho ka haere mai to ratou ope, ka noho ki Whatu-ma moana.

A, he roa te wa i noho ai ratou ki taua moana, a, no taua wa, ka puta te kupu a Te Rehunga ki tona iwi, kia hoki ratou ki roto o Here-taunga, a, i muri i to ratou haerenga ki reira, ka kiia e Te Rehunga tana kupu ki a Tawhiri-toroa, ki a Nga-mahiwa-o-te-rangi, ki a Te Opekai, ki a Te Marunga-o-te-rangi, "Me hoki koutou ki Otawhiao, ki Whenua-hou, ki runga ki te whenua i utua ai ki nga tangata." Ko enei wahine rangatira no Ngai-Tahu; no mua o te tukunga a Tama-i-waho, a Te Rangi-tataia, a Hika-rahui i O-tawhiao me Whenua-hou ki a Te Rehuuga, ka moe ratou i nga uri rangatira o te taha ki a Te Manawa-kawa raua ko Te Rehunga. A, i muri iho ka whai kupu ano a Te Rehunga ki a Te Hae-mata raua ko tona iramutu, ko Nga-Okoi-te-rangi, "Me hoki korua ki runga ki te whenua i whakautua ki o tatou iwi." Ka haere a Te Rehunga ratou ko tona iwi, ka whakaritea e ratou te kupu, kia hoki ratou ki Heretaunga, a, te taenga atu o ratou ki reira ka noho ratou ki Te Mangaroa, wahi o Rau-kawa maunga, kei te taha rawhiti o taua whenua ta ratou nohoanga, ka hangaia hoki e ratou a Te Mangaroa hei pa nohoanga ma ratou.

A, i muri iho i te wehenga atu o Te Rehunga ma, i to ratou nohoanga i Whatu-ma, ka haere mai a Te Hae-mata, a Nga-Okoi, a Nga-mahiwa, a Te Opekai, a Te Marunga, a Tawhiri-toroa nga wahiue tokotoru i kiia ra e Te Rehunga kia hoki ratou ki Otawhiao, ka haere mai ka noho tuturu ratou ki Otawhiao, ki Whenua-hou me era atu wahi o te whenua nei tae noa ki nga tatai hiwi i hangaia nei e Whata hei kai-hinaki māna; a ka nohoia tuturutia hoki a Horehore hei pa mo ratou.

A, i te wa e noho huihui aua ratou ki te pa nei ko Horehore, ka tae ake ki a ratou te rongo, kua mate a Te Rehunga ki tona pa, ki Te Mangaroa. I taua wa tonu ka karangatia e Te Hae-mata nga iwi nei kia haere ratou ki te taua huki-toto mo Te Rehunga; koia tenei o

ratou ingoa iwi; ko Ngai-Tahu, ko Ngai-Toro-i-waho, ko Ngati-Hine-iri, me era atu hapu o ratou. A, ka tae te iwi nei ki te pa na, ka whakaekea e ratou a Te Manga-roa; ka puta mai te mokopuna a Te Rehunga, koia ko Te Kikiri-o-te-rangi. Ka houhia e Te Kikiri tana rongo-mau ki runga ki a Te Hae-mata raua ko Nga-Oko me to raua iwi; a ka noho ratou ki te pa, ki te Mangaroa, ka atawhaitia ratou e te uri mokopuna a Te Rehunga, ara, e Te Kikiri, ano he iwi kotahi ratou. A, i muri iho ka hoki mai a Te Haemata ratou ko ona hoa rangatira ki Otawhao, ki Whenuahou; ka mauria mai hoki e ratou a Te Kikiri, me Te Ahi-kauri raua ko tona taina, ko Te Rua-poupou, me to raua waea hoki, me Te Hore. Ko te wahine tenei a Te Rehunga i tipu ai nga pakanga a Rangi-tane ki runga ki a ratou.

A, i muri i a ratou e noho ra i Otawhao, ka kiia e Te Hore tana kupu ki a Te Hae-mata, me tuku ia kia haere ki Tamaki kia kite ia i tona iwi, i a Rangi-tane. A, ka whakaaetia; ka haere te wahine nei, a Te Hore, ka mauria hoki e ia tana tamahine iti, a Te Rua-poupou—ko te matamua o ana tamahine i mahue iho.

Heoi, te haerenga atu ra o Te Hore, oti tonu atu ki runga ki tona iwi, ki a Rangi-tane, kaore i hoki mai.

A, i te wa i muri iho i a Te Kikiri, i a Te Hae-mata, i a Nga-Oko, i a Nga-rangi-ka-hiwera, i a Te Awhenga, i a Te Rangi-ka-taepa e noho tuturu ana i runga i to ratou whenua i Otawhao, i Whenua-hou, i roto hoki i to ratou pa, i Horehore; i taua wa tonu ka kiia e Te Kikiri-o-te-rangi te kupu kia whakaarahia ano te pakanga ki a Rangi-tane. Ka whakaaetia e ona hoa rangatira me o ratou iwi. I taua wa tonu ka tukua e Te Kikiri tana tutu-taua ki roto o Here-taunga, ki a Nga-rangi-ka-unuhia me era atu rangatira. Heoi, ka haere topu mai a Nga-rangi-ka-unuhia ratou ko tona iwi, ka noho ki Te Takapau; ka whakahaere ratou ko Te Heamata, ko Nga-Oko-i-te-rangi, ko Te Kikiri me era atu o a ratou hoa rangatira. Ka oti ta ratou kupu mo te hapai o te pakanga ki a Rangi-tane, ka whakauru mai hoki a Rangi-totohu me tona iwi, ki te ngaki i te mate o tona papa, o Tu-taua, i to ratou matenga i a Rangi-tane i te parekura i Te Piripiri.

Heoi; ko te haerenga tenei o Te Kikiri ratou ko ona hoa rangatira me to ratou ope-taua, ki te whawhai ki a Rangi-tane. Hoatu ana ko Rai-kapua, he pa horo; ko Pohutu-wai, he parekura; ko Nga-toto, he pa horo. I taua wa tonu ka pikitia Te Ahu-o-Turanga; kawea atu ana ko Te Wai-whakatahe-o-Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, he parekura. Heoi, ka puta mai tetahi o nga rangatira o te pa, ki waho o te pa, ui mai ai, "Kowai te uru o te taua?" Tona ingoa ko Matuku. Ka karanga atu a Rangi-totohu, "Ko nga uri mokopuna a Te Whatu-i-apiti!" Ka ui mai a Matuku, "Kowai to hoa e tu tahi mai na korua?" Ka karanga atu a Rangi-totohu, "Ko Te Kikiri-o-te-rangi!"

Heoi, ka hoki a Matuku ki roto ki to ratou pa, ko te putanga mai tenei o Te Tunga-o-te-rangi ki waho o tona pa, ka mau tona rongomau ki runga ki nga rangatira katoa o te taua nei, ki a Te Kikiri hoki.

Heoi, ka hoki mai to ratou taua ki tenei taha o Te Ahu-o-Turanga, ka mahue atu i a ratou a Rangi-tikei, ka hoki mai ratou ki te takiwa o Otawhaho me Whenua-hou.

A, i muri iho i a ratou e noho huihui ana i roto i o ratou pa, i Horehore, i Korako, no taua wa tonu ka ara tetahi pakanga i a Rangi-tane ki roto o Tamaki. Ko nga rangatira nana taua riri ko Te Tahiwa raua ko Para-kiore, ka mate ki te taha o te pa, o Te Upoko-o-Hinetu, ko Mapuna, ko Whakaero, no Ngai-Tahu, no Ngai-Toro-i-waho enei rangatira, i kohurutia nei e Para-kiore raua ko Tahiwa. I muri tata tonu iho ka ngakia te mate o Mapuna raua ko Whakaero i kohurutia ra, ka hinga te parekura ko Te Waikari, ka hinga a Rangi-tane, ka oma a Tahiwa raua ko Para-kiore. Heoi, ko te whakamutunga tenei o nga pakanga a nga uri mokopuna a Te Whatu-i-apiti raua ko Te Rehunga me to ratou iwi. Ka hokihoki a Nga-rangi-ka-unuhia ratou ko ona hoa rangatira, me ta ratou ope-taua ki roto ki Here-taunga.

Koia tenei te whakamaramatanga o te ngakinga mate a Te Kikiri, a Nga-Oku, a Te Hae-mata, a Te Awhenga, i to ratou hinganga i nga parekura a Rangi-tane i Te Pakaroa, i Kota-tai-whetu, i Nga-hore, i Te Moana-i-rokia, i Manga-tarata, i Te Piripiri, kei roto i te whenua o Tamaki-nui-a-Rua tenei parekura a te Piripiri, kei muri tata tonu mai o Tani-waka taone (Dannevirke).

Kati. Ko te ngaki mate a Te Kikiri, a Te Hae-mata, me era o a ratou hoa rangatira me o ratou hapu, koia tenei nga ingoa o nga pa-horo me nga parekura o te taha Rangi-tane i mate i a ratou; ko Rai-kapua, ko Pohutu-wai, ko Nga-toto, ko Te Wai-whakatahe, ko Te Wai-kari, ko Tiraumea.

Heoi, i muri iho i te hinganga o Rangi-tane i roto i nga parekura i mate nei ratou, ka noho tuturu nga uri o Te Kikiri, o Te Hae-mata o Nga-Oku, o Nga-rangi-ka-hiwera, o Te Rangi-ka-taepa ki runga ki to ratou whenua, ki Otawhaho, ki Whenua-hou me era atu o a ratou whenua, me ta ratou noho tuturu i roto i to ratou pa i Horehore tae noa ki te whakatupuranga o nga uri o Te Kikiri-o-te-rangi i a Hawea, ara :—

Hawea	=	Wawaha
Te Ahi-tainga	=	Te Apu
Te Naera	=	Rawinia Tokutea
Te Rotana	=	
Wikitoria Rotana, me era atu e ora nei.		

Te Kikiri = Piha-iti (*wahine tuarua*)
 Te Kanohi-tuhanga = Umu-rangi
 Te Aro-atua = Te Matahi
 Hori Niania = Maraea Hoko-kakahu
 Nikora Hori me era atu.

Te Whatu-i-apiti =
 Rangi-wawahia = Nga-hine
 Nga-Okoi-i-te-rangi = Para-houhou
 Tuhua = Hine-waoriki
 1 Ahipene, 3 Tanguru-Tuhua
 Te Rehunga = Te Hore (o Rangi-tane)
 Te Ahi-kauri = Tama-i-werohia
 Tama-tohara = Koka-tarewa
 Te Tuhi-horu = Nga-pu
 Hine-waoriki = Tuhua
 3 Tanguru-Tuhua.

Ko nga hapu nona te pa nei, a Horehore, ko Ngai-Tahu; i noho tuturu ki runga ki te whenua nei, ara, nga uri a Nga-mahiwa, Te Ope-kai, a Tawhiri-toroa, me te taha Toro-i-waho hapu, me Ngati-Te-Kikiri hapu. To ratou ingoa iwi ko Ngati-Kahungunu.

AMIO-WHENUA.

He whakamaramatanga i etahi take pakanga i tae mai ki te pa nei, ki Horehore whawhai ai; koia tenei; ko te taua tuatahi o te tai whakararo, i tae mai ki te pa nei, ko Amio-whenua, na Ngati-Paoa, na Ngati-Maru, na Nga-Puhi me era atu iwi o te tai tokerau—nana taua taua. Heoi, he roa te wa e whawhai ana ki te pa nei, kaore i tahuri, kaore hoki he tangata o te pa i mate, kaore hoki o te taua nei. Heoi hoki atu ana aua iwi ki to ratou nei whenua; i hoki ratou na te ara ki Te Ahu-o-Turanga, puta atu ki te tai-hauauru, muri atu ki Wai-kato, a, ki Wai-te-mata.

TE TAU A I A TANGI-TE-RURU.

I muri iho i te hokinga atu o te taua i a Amio-whenua a, i muri tata tonu iho, ko te taua i a Tangi-te-ruru; i tika mai to ratou huarahi ma te tai-rawhiti, me ta ratou patu haere mai i nga iwi o te takutai, tae noa mai ki nga iwi o Heretaunga nei, me ta ratou whakaeke haere i nga pa o konei. Kaore he pa i tahuri i te taua i a Tangi-te-ruru. Engari nga tangata e noho koraha noa iho ana e mate ana i a ratou.

A, i muri iho ka tae nei te taua i a Tangi-te-ruru ki te pa nei, ko Horehore. Ka awhitia te pa nei, a, i muri iho ka whakaekea tonutia

e te taua ki roto ki te pa. I te mutunga tata o te waipu a te taua, ka pekea e nga toa o roto i te pa nei, ko Wi Te Rurenga tetahi, ko Paora Te Ngaero tetahi. Heoi, kotahi o a raua tupapaku i riro mai i nga toa nei ki roto ki te pa, kotahi i riro atu ano i te taua. Heoi, ka whati te taua ki runga i Pueru hiwi pupuhi mai ki roto ki te pa.

A, e rua nga ra i muri iho ka maunu te taua nei, ka haere ma te matua-iwi ki Waha-tuara, ka puta ki te ngutuawa o Akitio awa, ka whakaeke ki te pito rawhiti o te hiwi o Maunga-rake. I te taenga o te ope a Tangi-te-ruru ki tenei pito o te hiwi o Maunga-rake, ka pa te wehi ki te taua; ko te take o te matakū, ko te kaha o te ka-haere o te ahi, i timata mai i te pa, i Te Iringa tae noa mai ki Hakikino pa i te takiwa o Tupapaku-rau, e tata ana ki Whare-ama awa. Heoi, ka whati noa iho te taua a Tangi-te-ruru, ka haere i tena matua-iwi i Te Kotukutuku, ka haere ma tera huarahi, ma Kauhanga ka puta ki te tai hauauru, ara, ki Rangi-tikei, Whanganui, a, Waikato.

Heoi nga kupu korero mo te taua a te Amio-whenua, i a Tangi-te-ruru.



INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF HORE- HORE PA, TE TAKAPAU, HAWKES BAY DISTRICT.

WRITTEN BY TANGURU TUHUA, TRANSLATED BY S. PERCY SMITH.

ON the occasion of a visit paid by Major H. P. Tu-nui-a-rangi and the writer to the native village of Te Takapau, situated on the railway line, 55 miles south of Napier, and just on the edge of what was formerly the Seventy-mile Bush, we induced Tanguru, the principal man of the tribe there living, to write the history of the occupation of Horehore *pa*, which has been connected with his tribe—the Ngai-Tahu—and had been their headquarters for a great many generations, indeed, until the *Pax Britanica* spread peace over the land, when the *pa* was finally abandoned, and the land sold to the Government. It is to be hoped that this old historic *pa* will be reserved for all time, and towards that end the Scenery Preservation Commission has made a recommendation. The *pa* is situated on a high ridge, about three-quarters of a mile east of Takapau Railway Station, from which it is a prominent object. Compared with many others this old *pa* does not present such high ramparts and deep ditches as in most cases, but the position is a fine one, on a peak of the limestone range called Nga-kai-hinaki-a-Tarawhata, which, sloping easily up from the west, falls off precipitately to the east; and is divided from the rest of the range by two coombs, or passes, in the range, in both of which are streams from whence the former inhabitants drew their supply of water. There are several lines of defence still visible, and on top is a large group of limestone rocks called Te-toi-a-Uru, which was the *tihi* or *toi* of the *pa*, where the old chiefs assembled to discuss questions of importance to the tribe. A few remains of the old *totara* palisades are also still to be seen. Tanguru informed us that his people claim to belong to the Ngai-Tahu people of the Middle Island—in fact their *hapu* name is identical. He is

an old man of about 70-75 years of age, and the writing of this history must have been a laborous undertaking for one unaccustomed to the use of the pen. It is lucky our visit to the old man took place when it did, for it has been the means of preserving a sketch—a rough one certainly—of the history of the Seventy Mile Bush and the struggles of the East Coast invaders with the original Rangi-tane inhabitants, which would otherwise have been lost, for Tanguru is the last of the old men of those parts who could recite it correctly.

The country round about the homes of these Ngai-Tahu people, was, until a few years ago, densely covered with magnificent forest, the edge of which was just at Te Takapau village—northwards from there the open plains of Rua-taniwha extend for many miles. Whenua-hou, one of the places mentioned in the story, lies just to the South-east of Te Takapau; it is now all in grass and stumps, and, on its eastern side the continuation of the limestone ridge before alluded to has afforded the former inhabitants excellent sites for some very strong *pas*, many of which are still in good preservation. In this picturesque country the Ngai-Tahu people have been settled since about the year 1525 (as deduced from the genealogies), when they first made their appearance, coming from the north, from Poverty Bay, before the time of the migration into Heretaunga of Taraia from the same parts, as related in this Journal, Vol. XIV., p. 93.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST OCCUPATION OF SOUTHERN HAWKES BAY AND WAIRARAPA.

Before translating Tanguru's story, it may be of interest to a few, to sketch in brief outline the history of southern Hawkes Bay and the Seventy Mile Bush,—Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, as the Maoris name the latter*—and southern Wairarapa. Many days have been spent in hunting up notes and genealogies in the endeavour to disentangle the conflicting statements, having reference to these parts. The Society possesses two MS. volumes of notes written by Hori Ropiha, of Waipawa, Hawkes Bay, in the nineties, which I have found full of information, albeit of a sketchy nature, and more especially full of genealogies, which, not being made out to support claims to land pending before the Native Land Court, ought to possess a considerable value for historic purposes. Of course we are dependant entirely

* So named after Rua-rangi, a descendant of Rangi-tane,—his great-great-grandson.

upon genealogies for fixing approximate dates in Maori History, and notwithstanding that they differ amongst themselves, as is only natural, if the mean of a great number is taken, and extending back to well-known ancestors, the result cannot be far from the truth. In this way the dates to follow have been calculated back from the year 1900, by allowing four generations to a century.

The genealogies to be found in H. Ropiha's books, certainly accord very well with the large number collected by Coln. Gudgeon on the East Coast, and published in J.P.S., Vol. III. and IV., and as they were collected from different tribes, the correspondence makes them of more value.

Hori Ropiha, who died some six or seven years ago, would not perhaps, in former times have been considered a first-class authority, but unfortunately we are not now in a position to refer to those old *tohungas* who could, at one time, have given clear and consistent histories of their tribes—they have all departed to the Reinga. Those white people who had the opportunity of gathering in the stores of information the old men possessed, utterly neglected to do so. We who now take up the tale with the view of converting unconnected traditions into something having the semblance of history, can only make use of second rate information. But the means often exists of checking the conflicting data, and that has been done in what follows wherever it has been possible.

RANGI-TANE.

The present inhabitants of the large district extending from Napier to Wairarapa, are generally not the descendants of the original people, but are mostly immigrants from that prolific birth place of tribes—Poverty Bay. They are generally known as Ngati-Kahungunu. H. Ropiha says (Vol. II., p. 6) that "the people who originally owned Here-taunga (the country round Hastings) right away to Wairarapa, Whanga-nui-a-Tara (Wellington), Porirua, Otaki, Manawatu, Tamaki (the Seventy Mile Bush), and the Ruahine Mountains, was Rangi-tane;" and (Vol. II., p. 23) that the Mua-upoko, and Ngai-Tara (Vol. II., p. 7) tribes were offshoots from the same people.

The Rangi-tane tribe takes its name from Tane-nui-a-rangi,* who, according to the pedigree given (H.R. Vol. I., p. 79) flourished 52 generations ago, and the names on this long line are all *tangata-whenua*, or aboriginal people, down to 21 generations ago. This seems to contradict a somewhat obscure statement by the same writer, that the ancestors of this tribe came over in the "Taki-tumu"

* Probably the god Tane.

canoe (in 1350). Another authority says that the tribe takes its name from one Rangi-tane, also said to have come in that canoe. The following is a genealogical table from Rangi-tane, which will also be useful for reference later on.

It will be seen from this that Rangi-tane flourished 20 generations ago, which is two generations short, counting back from 1900, to the

date of the *heke*, of 1350.

No. 1.

Tau-toki	
20 Rangi-tane	
Kopu-parapara	19 Whata 16
Kuau-pango	Whatonga
Uhenga-raho-pango	Rangi-whakawai-nuku
Hamua	Weka-nui
Waha-marō	15 Tawhaki
Hine-rau-te-kawa	= Rakai-marō
	└─┬─┘
	Pine-nau 10
	Tawhiri-rangi
	Takerekire
	10 Rua-wharetai
	Kau-peka
	Te Rua
	Heketara
	Hika-rere-kau
	5 Tango-pi
	Tawhiri-toroa
	Te Piha-iti
	Kaoho-tuhanga
	Te Aro-atua

But this table is longer than the average, for

Whata was born about 1500 (16 gens. ago) which would make Rangi-tane to have flourished 17 or 18 generations ago,—and this agrees with other lines; therefore he probably was born about 1450, a hundred years after the arrival of the *heke* of 1350. Of course his forefathers may have come in "Taki-tumu," but all the genealogical lines I know make him a direct descendant of Toi-kai-rakau. Moreover when

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu and the other northern tribes arrived in the Rangi-tane territories, they found it overspread by a numerous population, many of whom they fought with, expelled, or amalgamated with, thus showing far too large a population to have spring from the crews of the fleet of 1350. Although, as H. Ropiha says, Rangi-tane may have been a general name applied to all the people occupying mid and southern Hawkes Bay, there were many divisions—amongst others Te Tini-o-Awa, Whatu-mamoa, Te Tini-o-Rua-tamore, Te Te-upoko-iri, Ngai-Tara, etc., etc., all believed to be *tangata whenua* tribes, occupying the district when the fleet from Hawaiki arrived at these shores. At the present day we find Rangi-tane occupying a very small part of the large district accredited to them by H. Ropiha, in former times, *e.g.*, such as the south end of the Seventy Mile Bush, parts of the West Coast, Manawatu, etc., and probably the largest number of them are at the present day to be found at the north end of the Middle Island, at Wairau, Queen Charlottes Sound, etc. Of their struggles against the invading Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, Tanguru's narrative will tell us.

NGAI-TARA.

This tribe—stated by H. Ropiha and others to be an offshoot of Rangi-tane,—is a very ancient one, and as a tribe has probably existed as long under that name as Rangi-tane itself. They take their name from Tara (Table No. 2) who is said to have been a brother of Tau-toki shown in Table No. 1 as the father of Rangi-tane, and both are descended from Whatonga, a grandson of Toi-kai-rakau (*circa* 1150) the ancestor of a great many aboriginal tribes. Tara must have been a man of importance in his time for the following are called the *puna* (springs) of Tara: Ahuriri Harbour, Poukawa Lake, Te Roto-a-Tara Lake (near Te Aute), Whatu-ma Lake (near Wai-pukura), Wairarapa Lake, and Port Nicholson, which is called Te Whanganui-a-Tara after him (it is also called Te Wheke-nui-a-Tara); and the inference is that he discovered it. It was this people that killed the *taniwha*, Ngarara-hua-rau, as related in J.P.S. Vol. XIV., p. 202. It is clear they had settlements in the Seventy Mile Bush, for Hone Meihana states, they formerly owned the whole of it and that Rangi-tane drove them out, killing or enslaving them, and then possessed the land. The open lands at Te Hawera and Tutae-karā, not far from the modern town of Eketahuna, are said to have been cleared of forest by Ngai-Tara. Their food is stated to have been birds, wild roots and fruits, the inference being that they had neither the *kumara* nor the *taro*.

Ngai-Tara as a tribe, has practically ceased to exist, though there are descendants of Tara still living, as the marginal table shows,

No. 2.	
20	Tara
	Pehunga-i-te-rangi
	Hine-one
	Tukapo
	Turia
15	Te Hapai-o-te-rangi
	Te Rangi-tuatahi
	Te Rae-kau-moana
	Tauiao
	Te Uri-popo
10	Pa-te-ika
	Te Uri-popo
	Tawha-tahi
	Te Ika-a-mau-wawe
	Te Whanake (or Huka)
5	Kekerengu (or Taiaha)
	Te Miha-o-te-rangi
	Te Ruihi
	
	

where the last on the list is the wife of our Corresponding member, Aporo Te Kumeroa, of Greytown.

This line would make the period of Tara to be about the year 1400; another line makes it 1350, so it is clear he flourished about the time of the *heke* from Hawaiki.

Shorthand says (Southern Dists. of N.Z., p. 98), that Ngai-Tara were living in the Middle Island ten generations back from 1851 (or 300 years from 1900—say A.D. 1600. He says "All that part of the Middle Island which extends from Waipapa, a point about 20 miles south of Cape Campbell (really three to four miles south of the Clarence River; it is now a shipping place for wool) to Raki-ura or Stewart Island, including

Foveaux Straits, and probably a great part of the West Coast, was

possessed by one tribe who were called Ngati-Mamoe. Bordering on them to the north was a tribe called Te Huataki, whose ancestors had crossed over from the North Island and settled themselves at Wairau (Marlborough). To the West of them the country about Totara-nui (Cooks Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound) was in possession of the tribe Ngai-Tara, whose ancestors also came from the North Island under a chief named Te Puhi-rere, who, Tu-hawaiki said, was of the same lineage as the Nga-Puhi tribe." This connection with Nga-Puhi seems doubtful, unless it is through the *tangata-whenua* ancestors of that tribe, *i.e.*, Toi and others.

Judge Mackay also refers to Ngai-Tara in his "Native Affairs, South Island," Vol. I., p. 40, where he describes their settling down and intermarriages with their predecessors, the Wai-taha tribe, and their subsequent troubles with Ngati-Kuri. But neither of the above writers indicate any probable date for the migration of Ngai-Tara from the North Island—they were there when the Ngai-Tahu under Tura-kau-tahi invaded the Middle Island, and this was about 1600. Probably Ngai-Tara had crossed the Straits under pressure of the invading tribes from the north—Rangi-tane, Ngati-Ira, Ngati-Kahungunu, etc.

NGATI-IRA.

Of this ancient tribe we are never likely to learn its exact origin, for those who ought to have known, and doubtless did know their tribal history, were exterminated by the ruthless invaders under Te Rauparaha and his Nga-Puhi allies when they made their descent on Port Nicholson in 1819-20, and in the subsequent occupation of the same parts by Te Ati-Awa, of Taranaki. For Ngati-Ira was the tribe living there at that time, and had been in occupation for no one knows how long.

Coln. Gudgeon says (J.P.S., Vol. III., p. 215) (writing of the Ngati-Ira, of Anaura Bay) " . . . for is it not a fact that the name of Ira was first taken to Wairarapa by the fugitives from Pakau rangi fight; those people fled to their kindred in that place who were known by the same name." And this is supported by local tradition so far as it has been preserved. The southern Ngati-Ira say, that on their first arrival in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson, they found the Ngati-Mamoe tribe in occupation—which tribe afterwards migrated to the South Island. And further that their ancestor Ira came to New Zealand in the Horouta canoe, which is perhaps doubtful. Anyone who will refer to the article quoted above will see the uncertainty surrounding the identity of the particular Ira from whom the tribe takes its name. There were two main branches of this tribe, the one inhabiting Port Nicholson and Lower Wairarapa,

the other Anaura Bay and the country inland of Tokomaru Bay—both places some miles north of Poverty Bay. The following descent from their eponymous ancestor was given me by the southern branch of the tribe—it will be observed that the last few names are identical

- No. 3.
- 23 Tura
 - Ira-tu-roto
 - Ueroa
 - 20 Tahito-tarere
 - Rakai-nui
 - Te Ao-mata-rahi
 - Rakai-whakairi
 - Rakai-te-iwi
 - 15 Pirau-iti
 - Rakai-werohia = Hine-tauira
 - Te Rangi-tawhanga
 - Te Umu-tahi
 - Te Mahaki-kaea
 - 10 Te Hiha
 - Te Weranga
 - Hine-tarewa
 - Hine-ki-runga
 - Tarewa
 - 5 Te Miha
 - Ratima
 - Te Ruihi
 -
 -

with the Ngai-Tara line (No. 2). It may also be observed that Hine-tauira who married Rakai-werohia, was the sister of Te Rerewa, the Rangi-tane chief who bartered Southern Wairarapa with Rakai-rangi for seven canoes as related J.P.S., Vol. XIII., p. 159. The northern branch of the tribe denies that Tura was their ancestor, and it seems uncertain if his son Ira-tu-roto was the Ira from whom the tribe takes its name. The southern Ngati-Ira, also claim by another line, that Ira was a son of Tahu by his wife Manawatina and this agrees with Coln. Gudgeon's surmise as expressed J.P.S., Vol. III., p. 215. (See Te Kumeroa's MS., p. 4).

The date that Tura existed can be fixed very nearly, and in this case we have the great advantage of being able to

compare the Raro-tonga genealogies with those of New Zealand to help us. It is well-known from Maori tradition that Tura was a companion voyager of Whiro, or Iro, as the Rarotongans call him (they have lost the "wh" sound in their dialect) and that as a young man Whiro took him to Vavau (or Porapora of the Society Islands) and there he remained until old age. As Whiro was a contemporary of the great Rarotongan Chief and voyager, Tangiia, and as the latter flourished 26 generations back from 1900,—proved by many Rarotongan lines—it follows that Tura flourished 25 generations ago, which agrees within two with the marginal table.

A little bit of Polynesian genealogy is worth recording here, as it is confirmed by Maori lines. On one of my visits to Aitutaki Island, the chief Isaia gave me the following :—

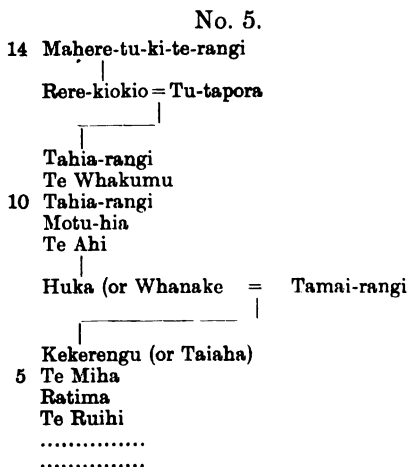
No. 4.

- 26 Tangiia (contemporary of Whiro)
- 25 Mоторо (contemporary of Tura)
- 24 Uenuku-rakeiora =
- 23 1 Ruatapu 2 Taiā 3 Ina 4 Paikea 5 Ira

All of these latter names except the second and third are also recorded on Maori lines, and it was in the generation following Ruatapu and his brethren that the fleet called in at Rarotonga on its way to New Zealand. So it is quite possible that Ira-tu-roto, may have been a son of Tura's through Ira's mother Takarita, Uenuku's wife—whose origin however is unknown. This of course is only a possibility, not a certainty. It nevertheless seems more than probable that Ngati-Ira was one of the immigrant tribes from Hawaiki, that came with the *heke* of 1350, and that they are also, like most tribes, much mixed up with the aboriginal people.

But however this may be, it does not affect the question that Ngati-Ira was one of the very early tribes to occupy southern Wai-rarapa, Port Nicholson, etc., where they were joined long after by other migrations of the tribe from Anauroa. When the first advance guard of the tribe moved to the south end of the island is uncertain. Ueroa, shown on the marginal line No. 3, lived at or near Poverty Bay, and his son Tahito-tarere is said to have been killed in that district. The son of the latter, Rakai-nui, fled with his people to join their fellow tribesmen at South Wairarapa, after a long series of fights in which he and his people were defeated—for which see J.P.S., Vol. III., p. 214. As Rakai-nui was born about 1450—it would probably be about 1475 to 1500 that his migration took place.

But the wars which lead to the migration just mentioned seem not to have ended then, but continued for some generations, until the times of Te Whakumu, about 10 generations ago (or say 1650 to 1675) when another migration took place under that chief and Mahanga-puhoa who (say the Southern Ngati-Ira) came down in canoes from Anauroa Bay and Whangara, a few miles North of Poverty



Bay, and first settled near Te Kawakawa (or Cape Palliser) from whence they spread to other places, and grew to be a very numerous people, as the *pepeha* or saying quoted below shows. That they amalgamated with the incoming Ngati-Kahu-ngunu is certain, and this has produced a fine race of people, for many a great *rangatira* with the blood of these two tribes flowing in their veins might be mentioned. The Ngati-Kahu-ngunu people have a saying which expresses a

feature characteristic of their tribe—*Mata nui a Kahu-ngunu*, is the long faces of Kahu-ngunu; whilst the descendants of Taraia who migrated from Poverty Bay to Heretaunga, are known by their dark appearance. Tall portly men are certainly common amongst this tribe at the present day. "*Hunu-a-rau*" is their tribal motto—"the hundreds of Hunu," of the descendants of Kahu-hunu (or Kahu-ngunu).

The following incident, as told by Aporo Te Kumeroa, of Greytown (MS. with the Polynesian Society) is interesting in connection with the Ngati-Ira people:—About 1675 (by five lines) was born a chief named Nga-Oko-o-te-rangi, of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu who dwelt in the Seventy Mile Bush; he was of the best blood of the tribe, being a descendant of Te Ao-mata-rahi, one of the leaders of a migration from Poverty Bay, about 1550. As a quite young man he went on a visit to the Ngati-Ira tribe, who lived near Te Kawakawa (Cape Palliser). When these people saw what a fine and accomplished man he was, they insisted on detaining him, and made him chief over their tribe and the Ngati-Rongo-potiki, Ngati-Te-Kauhau, Ngai-Ta-manuhiri and other *hapus*. When he was quite grown up, they gave him a wife from their own people as a further inducement for him to remain as their chief. Her name was Pokai-uru-kehu a Te Rua-manihi, by whom he had a daughter named Hau-mokai.

When this daughter grew up, and Nga-Oko saw how his people, Ngati-Ira, had increased and multiplied, he thought it was time to return and see his own people, Te Aitanga-a-Tu-mapuhia living in the vale of Kai-hoata. Having decided on this course he uttered words which have become a *pepeha* or saying, thus:—"Kati au te noho i roto i a koutou, mene koutou e noho nei he upoko tangahangaha anake. Ko tini o te pepeha ki te moana, ko Ngati-Ira ki uta." "I will cease my residence amongst you, for, when you are all assembled you are as numerous as a shoal of *tangahangaha* (a small fish). The numbers of the *pekeha* (a little dark bird that sometimes covers the sea in tens of thousands) at sea alone can equal those of Ngati-Ira ashore." It was thus with Ngati-Ira, as the *pekeha* hid the surface of the sea, so Ngati-Ira in those days prevented the surface of the land being seen, nor could their chiefs be seen. Hence he said to them—"Kawea au ki te riu o Kai-hoata. Kia hokowhitu ai ki te nohoanga, heru-turāe; putiki makawe tahi anake." "Take me to the vale of Kai-hoata; let there be seventy men, all with hair-combs, and hair tied up in a single knot." (The combs were those used by chiefs stuck in the top knot). "The meaning of this is, that there were seventy chiefs of his *hapu*, who were all circumcised, and they

were all descendants of their ancestor Tama-tea-ure-haea" (Tamatea the circumcised). "When these chiefs were all killed at Ahuriri it was then seen that Nga-Oko's saying truly applied to them, for all were circumcised. In this fight Nga-Oko and all his companion chiefs were killed by the people of Wairarapa, of whom the chiefs were: Te Hika, Te Whakatakahia, Te Ahi-a-te-momo, Whakianga, Marohuru, Te Kakaho, Te Whata-horo, and others. This fight was named Ahuriri (not to be confounded with Port Ahuriri). As the Wairarapa chiefs and their party returned, they were seen by the father of Nga-Oko, who called down to them from the ridge where he was,—“As you have killed your nephew, leave his children to live and become men for you.” Maro-huru, one of the war party replied, “*Uri kore ; hara kore ; ka pa ano tona momo kia kore atu, kia hoki atu tona momo ki Whanga-rā ki te wahi i whanau mai ai !*” “No offspring ; no future trouble. If his blood ends, let his (other) blood return (for more) to Whangarā, to the place they came from.” The meaning of this is, that if his descendants here were destroyed, others could be found at Whangara.

“The old man Tama-i-tohi-kura (Nga-Oko's father) replied, “It is well, I spoke as I did, because I thought the death of the father was sufficient, and his descendants might be spared to become men for you. But as such is your answer, leave it to me to fetch others from the root that spread hither from Whangara.”

“And then Hikarara, Te Kapa (of Ngati-Porou), Te Ra-ka-to (of Wairoa, Hawke's Bay) were sent for, and in the battle that followed the principal men of Wairarapa were destroyed, and Hika-rara brother of Nga-Oko captured Maro-huru (who spoke about “No offspring, etc.,” above), who begged to be allowed to live. Hika-rara replied “You shall not live !” and immediately drove his weapon into the nose of the petitioner. After this fight the *tau*a of Wairarapa came to Te Kawakawa, where they found Nga-Oko's daughter Hau-mokai, whom they married to Te Ahi-a-te-momo, from whom descended most of the chiefs and warriors of Wairarapa. (See also a reference to these troubles J.P.S., Vol. XIII., p. 162).

It is not at all obvious why Nga-Oko-i-te-rangi was killed by his own tribe.

Most of the place-names about Port Nicholson were given by Ngati-Ira, who occupied all that country, and Porirua also.

At the time of the Ati-Awa and Ngati-Toa invasion and conquest 1819 to 1824, the Ngati-Ira supreme chief was Whanake, also named Huka, said to have been a remarkably fine handsome man. His wife was Tamai-rangi, a lady whose fame is still sung by her descendants. She was a descendant also of Ira, of Te Ao-mata-rahi and of

Mahanga-puhua, but her parents lived in the Middle Island at Aropaoa Island, Queen Charlotte Sound, they being also connected with the Ngati-Kuia tribe of those parts. When she left Aropaoa to live with her husband at Port Nicholson, the people lamented her in following part of a song that has been preserved :—

Mahue Tawhiti-nui,¹ mo te hika i a Ware,²
 Mahue Aropaoa,³ mo te hika i a Tamai-rangi,
 Koia hoki ra tenei hanga e pohau noa nei
 Desolate is left Tawhiti-nui by the marriage of Ware
 Disconsolate is Aropaoa through the marriage of Tamai-rangi
 Hence is this trouble that overcomes us.

Tamai-rangi is said to have been as great a chieftainess as Hine-matioro, of Tologa Bay whose fame had reached the early missionaries in the north, by whom she was referred to as “a great queen.” Tamai-rangi, in travelling from village to village, was never allowed to walk; she had her male attendants who always carried her. When she appeared before the tribe on public occasions, she was dressed in the finest mats, with plumes of albatross feathers in her hair, and a long and richly carved *taiaha* in her hand.

At the time the Ati-Awa and Ngati-Toa invaded the district and massacred most of her people she, with the remnant retired, as a last resort, to Tapu-te-ranga, the little islet in Island Bay, near Wellington, and when that place fell, her faithful people carried her off by sea round Cape Te Rawhiti (so called, Te Rimu-rapa is the proper name) to Ohariu, a little bay on Cook's Straits, due west of Wellington, where she was captured by her enemies, who however did not kill her or her children. Dreading that she would be put to death she asked to be allowed to sing her own lament, a request that was acceded to by her captors. This lament, in which she took farewell of her people, and her lands, was of such a pathetic nature that it appealed to Te Rangi-haeata, chief of Ngati-Toa, who begged of Te Ati-Awa—her captors—that she might be given to him, and on this request being complied with, she was taken to Kapiti Island where she and her family stayed some time. Whilst here, her son Kekerengu, who was a full grown man, got into trouble through a liason with Te Rangi-haeata's wife, and fearing the consequences, he, with his mother Tamai-rangi and her other children, escaped by canoe from Kapiti in the night, and braving the terrors of Cook's Straits, crossed over to Aropaoa, Tamai-rangi's old home. Here they all stayed some time, but still fearing the wrath of Te Rangi-haeata, they again fled from there, and eventually reached Kekerengu, a stream, and now a small village, twenty miles south of Cape Campbell. Here, for reasons with

1. Tennyson's Inlet. 2. Ware also married a North Island chief.

3. The island east of Queen Charlotte Sound.

which I am unacquainted,* the fugitives were set upon by the Ngai-Tahu tribe, and all killed. From this circumstance the place has since been called Kekerengu, after the son of Tamai-rangi.

Some time after, the news of the death of these people reached Wairarapa, and Tamai-rangi's husband, Huka or Whanake, who had escaped the destruction of his people at Port Nicholson—together with Te Roto, Tiakitai and others, raised a *taua-hiku-toto*, or party of revenge, and proceeded by canoes to the east coast of the Middle Island, where they attacked Ngai-Tahu at a place my informant could not remember the name of, near Kaiapohia, where they got badly beaten. In fact nearly all Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were killed, including Huka, who was the origin of the affair. Te Roto escaped with a wound, and fled back northwards, but died in a cave where he had taken refuge. This occurred some time before Te Rauparaha's raid on Kaiapohia in 1830.

One of those who afterwards lived with the Ati-Awa, after that tribe had driven out and practically exterminated Ngati-Ira, told me that in those days Ngati-Ira did not cultivate the soil at all, but lived on fern-root, fish, *pauas*, birds, and the fruits of the forest. There was one kind of plant the root of which they called *āka*, which was eaten, and furnished a large addition to their daily food. The root was as thick as a man's wrist and about a foot long; its leaves were like the *wharawhara* (*Astelia Banksii*); but, my informant says, it is now quite extinct, destroyed by the cattle. The root was dug up with a pointed stick, then roasted, when it was very good.

It is obvious that all the country from Hawke's Bay to Port Nicholson was fairly populated by the *tangata-whenua* when the descendants of the crews of the fleet from Hawaiki first began to move southwards from the neighbourhood of Poverty Bay. It also seems certain that the superiority of these over-sea immigrants in arms and accomplishments told heavily against the original people wherever they came in contact with them, for in those early days the numbers of the new comers were few.

We now come to the migrations of Hawaikian Maoris into the lands of the original people described above so far as I have been able to ascertain them.

* In Tare W. Te Kahu's account of the wars of the South Island Ngai-Tahu with Te Rauparaha, J.P.S., Vol. X., p. 95, will be found a probable reason. It is there stated that the first attack of Te Rauparaha on the Ngai-Tahu was due to Te Kekerengu's action in debauching Rangi-haeata's wife, and that in consequence Te Rauparaha attacked Ngai-Tahu at Omihi, south of Kaikoura, when Te Kekerengu and his party fled. The latter was thus the cause of the Ngai-Tahu being attacked and losing many tribesmen. In retaliation probably Te Kekerengu was followed up and killed.

MIGRATIONS OF NORTHERN TRIBES TO HAWKE'S BAY.

Colonel Gudgeon seems to think (J.P.S., Vol. VI., p. 184), that the first migration of the northern tribes into Hawke's Bay took place in the times of Kahu-ngunu, who had killed Tahito-tarere, when the latter's people migrated to Wai-marama and Porangahau, places some miles south of Napier, on the coast. It is at least clear that the northern chief Ueroa—the murdered man's father, table No. 3—had visited Porangahau at that time, for H. Ropiha says (Vol. II., p. 76), "This man, Ueroa, married the daughter of Porangahau, named Te Whe, and their son was Tahito-tarere, who was *tuatia* (or named) at Porangahau, and after that Ueroa returned to Turanga" (Poverty Bay). It appears that the chief of these people had the same name as the place, Porangahau. (See the account of his death, J.P.S., Vol. XIV., p. 89. His former name was Rongo-ue-roa; he took the former name to conceal his identity.) In the list of the migrations given by H. Ropiha, which follows, he ignores any one of this period, but the first on his list was that under Rakai-hiku-roa Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi.

From carefully working out the dates from the genealogies and testing them by intermarriages, the following dates of birth of the people mentioned above cannot be far out: Ueroa, 1400; Tahito-tarere, 1425; Kahu-ngunu (by 18 lines), 1450.

Colonel Gudgeon also says (J.P.S. Vol. VI., p. 9), that Rakai-nui, the son of Tahito-tarere, migrated with the rest of his tribe to Port Nicholson, and thence to the South Island. But if so he must have left his son, Te Ao-mata-rahi, behind.

MIGRATION OF WHATA.

I have been unable to fix the date of this properly. Enquiries merely result in saying that it was before that of Taraia. But it was probably about 1525. Tanguru's narrative will tell us of Whata's doings after he reached Te Takapau, near where he and his party settled down.

MIGRATION OF TARAIA (*circa* 1550).

H. Ropiha says (Vol. II. p. 6), the first migration of these people—Ngati-Kahu-nguru and Ngai-Tahu—took place in consequence of the death of Tu-purupuru (the details of which are given in J.P.S., Vol. XIV. p. 90). "This was the *heke* to Here-taunga, where their descendants still live, as well as at Wai-rarapa. On their arrival they fought Rangi-tane and took their land. This was the migration of Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi." From the J.P.S. quoted above we learn that Taraia's father, Rakai-hiku-roa, also took part in the

migration; they settled near the present town of Hastings, on the Ngaruroro river, after defeating the Tini-o-Awa and Maru-iwi tribes (see J.P.S., Vol. XIII., p. 155). From the dates worked out, this migration must have taken place about 1550.

MIGRATION OF NGARENGARE (*circa* 1625.

The second migration, says H. Ropiha, was under Ngarengare and his son Tama-te-ra, and it came from Te Wairoa; the cause was the theft of a celebrated bird belonging to Iwi-ka-tere. In consequence several battles were fought, such as Te Koura-kai-rapaki and Taupara, in which Ngarengare was defeated, and fled to Heretaunga. The following is translated from H. Ropiha's account of the cause of migration (H. Ropiha, Vol. I., p. 65):—

"This man, Iwi-ka-tere, who lived at Te Mahia, was the owner of a tame *koko* (or *tui*) bird, which had been taught all the *karakias* (incantations, etc.), the history, and all kinds of Maori knowledge. Thus he became wonderfully learned, and to him was delegated the repetition of the *karakias*. When the autumn months of Pou-tu-te-rangi came round, it was his business to *pure*, or remove the *tapu* from the *kumara* cultivations, for great indeed was his knowledge. Now, on a certain occasion Tama-te-ra sent a messenger to Iwa-ka-tere to beg him to lend the bird to say the necessary *karakias* over the *kumaras*. When the messenger got to Iwi-ka-tere's village he said, "I have come to fetch your bird to *pure* our *kumara* cultivations." Iwi-ka-tere replied, "Wait a while, my *kumaras* have not yet been *pure*; when they are done, then come for the bird." So the messenger returned and reported to Tama-te-ra, who was very angry at the refusal of his application, and said, "Presently, when it is night and all are overcome with sleep, you return and steal the bird."

"So it came to pass, when all were asleep, Tama-te-ra's man went back and stealthily entered the *pa* of Iwi-ka-tere, where he found everybody sound asleep. He went to Iwi-ka-tere's house where the *koko* bird was kept. As he approached, the bird understood quite well that the thief's object was to steal him; and so he attempted to arouse his master. He called and called; but to no purpose, for Iwi-ka-tere slept on. The bird said, "*E Iwi! Ka riro au; E Iwi! Ka riro au te whanako. E Iwi! e ara, ka riro au!*" "O Iwi! I am taken! O Iwi! I am stolen! O Iwi, arouse! I am taken!" But the thief seized the bird in his hand and made off with it.

"In the morning when Iwi-ka-tere got up, he listened for the voice of his bird, but not a sound was heard. He then went forth to look for it and found it not. For it was the habit of the bird in the morning to call to all the people, who would listen to what it was

saying. And now Iwi-ka-tere lamented the loss of his bird with many tears, for he knew in his heart that it had been stolen by Tama-te-ra.

"A war party was now assembled; and the battle of Te Kourakai-rapaki was fought. This was in revenge for loss of the bird. The war now became constant. Iwa-ka-tere went round with his party to Turanga (Poverty Bay) and from thence came inland following up the enemy. They closed in battle again at Waiau (a branch of the Wairoa River, Hawke's Bay) where the party of Tama-te-ra was defeated. After this was fought the battle of Tauparoa where 'thousands' were killed, all on account of Iwi-ka-tere's pet bird.

"Ngarengare, father of Tama-te-ra, fled from the Wairoa district, leaving it to Iwi-ka-tere and his people, whose descendants live there still. Ngarengare and his son Tama-te-ra and the remainder of his people migrated to Heretaunga where they settled down and some of their descendants are there still, some at Wairarapa, whilst some returned to the Wairoa. The chiefs of Heretaunga are descended from the chief above mentioned, and this is a descent from him." (See margin).

- No. 6.
- 14 Ngarengare
Tama-te-ra
Hine-te-moa
Te Whatu-i-apiti
- 10 Te Rangi-wawahia
Te Rangi-hirawea
Hopara
Homata-i-te-rangi
Te Kukanga
- 5 Whakamarino
Te Ropiha
Hori Ropiha
.....
.....

Coln. Gudgeon describes the above war with more detail (J.P.S., Vol. V., p. 11), and says Iwi-ka-tere's tribe was the Ngai-Tauira, a *tangata-whenua* tribe; and that Ngarengare belonged to some wandering tribe the origin of which is not known. As the mean of many lines fixes the date of birth of Te-whatu-i-apiti at 1650, we may place the date of this migration

of Ngarengare at about 1625.

MIGRATIONS OF MAHANGA.

The next migration in the order given by H. Ropiha (Vol. II. p. 10), was that of Mahanga, and as I can find no table of descent from him, the date cannot be fixed. It is possible this is the same Mahanga as the man mentioned in J.P.S., Vol. XIII., p. 163. If so, then what follows is the account of his coming from the Wairoa, Hawkes' Bay, prior to his further migration to mid-Wairarapa. Ropiha's account is very short: "The next *heke* was that of Mahanga from the Wairoa. Before he started he applied to Te Tatu for a canoe to carry him and his people, and the latter gave him one named 'Te-upoko-o-tutanga-maunga-whenua' (if Te Tatu had lived in modern times he would, perhaps, have abbreviated this long name). They then started along the coast, but stopped at Whakaari (which, I think, is near Moeangi-

angi Bluff, Hawke's Bay), where Mahanga paid for the canoes by handing over to Te Tatu the following lands: Whakaari, Puke-titiri, Maunga-haruru, Oingo, and Rau-kawa. Mahanga's descendants are to be found at Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa."

If the above is the same Mahanga, then the date of this *heke* is probably about 1625. Presumably Mahanga and his people were Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.

MIGRATION OF NGATI-IRA.

H. Ropiha mentions as the next migration that of Ngati-Ira from Tokomaru and Uawa (Tologa Bay), which, he says, "was due to war: they went right down to Wairarapa, but some remained behind." This, no doubt, was the migration under Te Whakumu and Mahangapuhua, already referred to, and the date approximately fixed at 1650-1675.

The above seems to exhaust the accessions to the population of the district under consideration from outside places. But Ropiha mentions other migrations as originating from Heretaunga, which settled in the southern part of this district, such as that of Nga-Oko-te-rangi, that went to Wai-rarapa after he had eloped with the wife of Te Hau-apu, who followed him up with four different war parties, but failed to regain his wife.* Whether this is the same man of the same name who was adopted by Ngati-Ira as a chief, and subsequently killed by the Wairarapa people, I cannot say, but both were born, according to the genealogies, nine generations ago. Incidents in connection with this abduction will be found in "The Monthly Review," Vol. II., p. 583, Wellington, 1891. The second of these local migrations was that of Ngai-Tahu, who left Here-taunga for Wai-rarapa in consequence of the death of Tama-i-waho, at Maungatarata, at the hands of Rangi-tane, because the former had ceded the lands of Tawhao to Te Rehunga and Manawa-kawa—about which Tanguru's narrative will tell us.

Another migration from Heretaunga to Wai-rarapa was that of Te Whatu-i-apiti and his wife Kura-mahi-nono and their people, after the former's defeat at Te Kauhanga, and when he got into trouble at Te Umuumu on account of a woman.

The last movement of these people mentioned by H. Ropiha, was that under Te Hika-o-papauma, who, with his people, departed from

* See the song, J.P.S., Vol. XIII., p. 159.—

"Ko Te Rau-pare, Kirikiri-a-Kai-paau,
Ka riro i a Nga-Oko-i-te-rangi
Tapapa noa a Te Hau-apu
E wha taua ki Tuinga-ra; kore noa iho."

Here-taunga and settled first at Poranga-hau, then moved on to Tau-tane, Matai-kona, and to Rangi-whakaoma (Castle Point), where their descendants remain at this day.

We will now follow Tanguru's narrative:—

THE HISTORY OF HOREHORE PA, TE TAKAPAU, HAWKES BAY.

BY TANGURU-TUHUA (Translation).

This is an explanation of some old history which my father, Tuhua, told to me in 1865.

THE origin of this ancestor of ours, of Whata, was Pou-heni, who was a son of Paikea. Pou-heni lived all his life at Turanga-nui-a-Rua (Poverty Bay) together with the tribe, and also at other parts on that coast.

From the period in which Pou-heni flourished down to Whata, there are six generations, at which time Whata settled in this country (i.e., near Te Takapau). He first occupied a hill on the range named Rangi-tapu-a-Whata. This was the first place he settled at.

After Whata had settled down permanently in this land, there grew up a quarrel between him and Tongo-whiti (of the Rangi-tane tribe), about the Whatu-ma Lake (close to Wai-puku-rau). Tongo-whiti declared that the range of hills where Whata was living was a bait-procuring ground for the lake. Whata at once understood this meant that Tongo-whiti intended to retain the eel-fishing of the lake for himself alone. [According to the tables Tongo-whiti was born about eighteen generations ago, or in 1450, whilst many lines make Whata's date of birth about the year 1500, see Table No. 1. Probably Whata settled near Te Takapou about 1525 to 1550]. The time for eel-catching was just on at that time; so Tongo-whiti proceeded to lengthen the nights (by incantations), whilst Whata went on preparing the *hinakis* or eel baskets on the land where he lived. In the end, Whata proceeded to hasten the daylight (by incantation), and so the lake came into the possession of Whata, together with all authority over it. This proceeding has given rise to the "saying," which descends to us from our ancestors, "Whata's eel-basket making won; whilst Tongo-whiti's were set aside." Hence Tongo-whiti named his land Paeroa (from *pae-a-rau*, (?) set aside).

In the days of the generations of Tongo-whiti's grandchildren, Te Awa-riki was murdered by Rua-tamore and his people, which deed was avenged by Ngaro-roa the former's son, in the battle called Ti-kauka-nui, where the tribe of Rua-tamore was defeated with

great slaughter. This land on which Tongo-whiti's descendants lived, was then called Te Wai-kopiro-o-Rua-tamore, which obtains to this day. (This land now known as Wai-kopiro lies on the upper Manawatu river, a few miles south of Te Takapau. Rua-tamore, was, the originator of the tribal name Te Tini-o-Rua-tamore, a *tangata-whenua* tribe, and a branch of Rangi-tane).*

At the time that Whata lived on the land which he called his enclosure for his eel-baskets, (Nga-hinaki-a-Whata, the name of the range on which Horehore *pa* stands) his son Whatonga grew up to manhood, and married Hau-karanga-roa. And from the generation of Whatonga to his descendant Rakai-marō there are five generations. [Rakai-marō, born about 1625. From Whatonga (see Table No. 1) comes the emblematical name of the Seventy Mile Bush, Te-tapere-nui-o-Whatonga, which, says H. Ropiha, refers to the abundance of birds in the forest, and the shelter obtainable from the winds).

Rakai-marō (see Table No. 1) grew up, and married Hine-rau-te-kawa (see Table No. 1) of the Rangi-tane tribe. This was the junction of the lines of Te Aitanga-a-Whata (Whata's descendants) with the Rangi-tane tribe; and they all dwelt permanently on the land, as if they were one people. It was at this time that they gave certain names to the land on which they dwelt, as follows:—Te Pokaka, Horehore (the *pa*), Puena (the peak south of the *pa*), Puketotara and Ruru-whango.

Now, it was during the time that the two tribes lived in peace together they built Horehore *pa* to live in, and thus they lived all together, but having two distinct tribal names—Te Aitanga-a-Whata and Rangi-tane. Then grew up in their generation, from the marriage of Rakai-marō and Hine-rau-te-kawa, their three children, Piki-hau-ariki, Korako-tai-waha, and Pine-nau (see Table No. 1), they were all males.

After these children had been born the two tribes lived together for a long time, and then Korako-tai-waha and his younger brother removed to Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, (*i.e.*, to about Dannevirke, etc.), and there they and their children and grandchildren dwelt. But their elder brother, Piki-hau-ariki, continued to dwell on the lands which his ancestor, Whata, had named the eel-basket enclosure. Afterwards, in the times of his descendants, Te Ahiahi-a-tau and her younger sister, Hine-auahi, the latter married Ira-kumia, and removed permanently to Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, whilst the elder sister, Te Ahiahi-a-tau remained on the ancestral lands, "Nga-kai-hinaki-a-

* I have since learned that this was the tribe from which Rangi-tane originally sprung; but it is doubtful. At any rate, it was a very ancient tribe.

Whata." And these three generations passed, Te Ahiahi-a-tau, Tu-karaerae, and Nehunga, and the latter married Amo-ake-te-rangi, and this was the junction of the Aitanga-a-Whata, the Rangi-tane, and the Ngai-Tahu tribes. Thus there were three tribal divisions amongst them.

And the children of Amo-ake-te-rangi and Nehunga were born—Te Kura-taka-whaki, the elder, and Tu-karangatia, the younger; and from the generations of Te Kura there were five generations to her descendant Hika-rahui, and four generations from her brother Tu-karangatia down to his descendant Te Mahanga. For a long time they dwelt in peace on the land, until the times of Hika-rahui and Te Rangi-tataia, when they gave up their lands to Te Rehunga and Manawa-kawa in payment for the *kai-hau-kai*, or feast at Te Takapau, which feast was named Nga-tau-tuku-roa. This was the final alienation of their lands to the above chiefs and their people. (Te Rehunga, Manawa-kawa, and Te Whatu-i-apiti were contemporaries, and all born *circa* 1650, the feast would be about 1675 to 1700.)

This was the period that the tribe that gave the feast called Nga-tau-tuku-roa occupied this country, under Te Rehunga and Manawa-kawa, as payment for their feast, and it was a long time they dwelt in the land thus acquired.

(I break off Tanguru's narrative here to quote from Hori Ropiha an account of some feasts, or *kai-hau-kai*, that were given at this period. The tribes seem to have emulated one another in the extent and magnificence of the feasts given. All the surrounding people would assemble, and all kinds of amusements be indulged in, whilst the quantity of food wasted was enormous. The chiefs vied with one another in liberality as to food and presents, often leaving themselves and their tribes destitute. Ropiha says: "There was a great *kai-hau-kai* (called in other districts a *hakari*) given in Here-taunga by Te Whatu-i-apiti to Te Angiangi and his people. It consisted principally in calabashes of *huahua*, or preserved birds, and the feast was named 'Tikitiki-o-te-whatu.' The return feast at Pari-māhu, given by Te Angiangi, was named 'Pokai-takataka.' Again Te Whatu-i-apiti, not to be outdone, gave a second feast named 'Te Uaua-tamariki,' in which he had to obtain the assistance of Hika-rere-pari and his people, and in return for such assistance they were given the lands named Te Umu-o-pua, Rae-katia, Paeroa, and Tutu-rewa, and these lands remain in their possession to this day. Such assistance is called *whakatihi*. But Te Angiangi and his people had exhausted their food, and shame obliged them to make some return, so they gave to Te Whatu-i-apiti the following lands: Tawa-pu-tahi, Rae-katia, Te Umu-o-pua, Rua-hine, Tutu-rewa O-Porae,

Akitio, Mutua, Te Poroporo, and Te Upoko-o-te-Haemata, most of which Te Whatu-i-apiti distributed to Kai-tahi, and to Te Huinga-i-waho. To Taurito, who had also helped Te Whatu, the latter gave Porangahau and Tawa-pu-tahi, which remain to his descendants." Such is H. Ropiha's account of these extravagant proceedings—for many of the lands named were vast areas, and at the present day are worth millions.)

To return to Tanguru's narrative: Some time after Te Rehunga had settled on the lands acquired as above, he demanded the hand of Te Hore, a lady of Rangi-tane tribe, in marriage, and the marriage feast (*pakuha*) was carried out. This was the cause of Te Rehunga going to Tamaki (about Dannevirke) to live with his Rangi-tane people (a proceeding he must subsequently have repented of). After a time many of Te Rehunga's tribe followed him to Tamaki and dwelt there amongst this stranger tribe. Soon after their arrival Te Rehunga pointed out to his tribe various lands which were in use by Rangi-tane as places for them to settle on. Now, when the Rangi-tane tribe began to understand what this meant—that they were being robbed of their lands (Tamaki-nui-a-Rua) by Te Rehunga and his people—they set up a *rahui* (or post, making the place sacred to them), at Tuhi-mata, in order to *tapu* their lands of Tamaki, and named the post "Puaki-te-ao." When the people of Te Rehunga and Manawa-kawa heard of this *rahui* they sent and cut it down. Rangi-tane proceeded forth-to re-erect the post.

And now commenced the trouble between the two peoples, for directly after re-erecting the post the Rangi-tane prepared for war, and commenced by gaining the battle of Paka-roa; then followed another, Kota-tai-whetu, which last is not far from Te Takapau. Not long after Rangi-tane assaulted and took the Nga-hore *pa* and Te Moana-i-rokia *pa*, in which latter place was killed Kahu-torua, mother of Rangi-te-kahutia. After this *pa* had fallen the Rangi-tane went after Tama-i-waho, whom they killed at Manga-tarata. (H. Ropiha says that he was killed because he was one of those who gave the land, Tawhao, to Te Rehunga and others as payment for the feast). Directly after this Te Rehunga and one section of his tribe withdrew from Tamaki and occupied the Horehore *pa*.

Some time after this Te Rehunga and his people removed to Pou-kawa lake (a few miles north of Te Aute), and took up their abode in Wheao *pa*. And from there he made war on the Here-taunga people (why the author does not say, they were of the same tribe). Again, some time after this, he met Rangi-tane in battle at Te Piripiri (near Dannevirke), and he and Manawa-kawa suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Rangi-tane; a very great many were

killed of their war party, amongst them the following chiefs:—Tutaua, Te Kiri-pu-noa, Tawa-rora, Tau-hinu, Te Rangi-hou-tihi, Te Ara-tahi, and others. From this battlefield Te Rehunga, Manawa-kawa, and the remains of their party, fled for their lives and took refuge at Hiku-rangi, in the Tawhao country, and from there, after a time, continued their retreat to Whatu-ma lake, near Wai-puku-rau.

After remaining for a long time at this lake, Te Rehunga decided to remove with his people to Here-taunga. When there he said to Tawhiri-toroa, Nga-mahua-o-te-rangi, Te Ope-kai, and Te Marunga-o-te-rangi, "You had better return to our lands at Tawhao and Whenua-hou, to the lands that have been paid for by men." (These lands are both close to Te Takapau, and had been given to Te Rehunga's tribe in payment for the feast.—See *ante*.) These high-born ladies were of the Ngai-Tahu tribe, and prior to the cession of Tawhao and Whenua-hou by Tama-i-waho and others to Te Rehunga, they had married chiefs of Te Rehunga's and Manawa-kawa's tribe. Afterwards Te Rehunga gave directions to Te Haemata and his nephew, Nga-Ok-o-i-te-rangi, saying, "You two had better return to the lands that have been paid for by our people." After this Te Rehunga and his people arranged to return to Heretaunga, and on their arrival, they dwelt at Te Manga-roa, near Rau-kawa Mountain, on the east side, where they built Te Manga-roa pa.

Subsequent to the departure of Te Rehunga and his party from Whatu-ma lake, Te Hae-mata, Nga-Ok-o, Nga-Mahiwa, Te Ope-kai, Te Marunga and Tawhiri-toroa including the ladies before mentioned, removed from Whatu-ma and took up their permanent residence at Tawhao and Whenua-hou, and other parts of those districts including the "eel-enclosures" of Whata; and Horehore pa was also finally occupied at that time.

Whilst they all dwelt together at Horehore pa, the news came, that Te Rehunga had been killed at his pa Te Manga-roa. Te Hae-mata at once called on the neighbouring tribes to assemble and proceed to avenge Te Rehunga's death, *i.e.*, Ngai-Tahu, Ngai-Toro-i-waho, Ngati-Hine-iri and others. When they arrived at the pa Te Manga-roa they commenced the assault, when the grandson of Te Rehunga named Te Kikiri-o-te-rangi, came forth, and concluded a peace with Te Hae-mata, Nga-Ok-o and their people; then they entered the pa and were kindly received by Te Kikiri and the people, as if they had been one single tribe. After a time Te Hae-mata and his people returned to their homes at Whenua-hou, bringing with them Te Kikiri, Te Ahi-kauri and her younger sister Te Rua-poupou and their mother Te Hore. This was Te Rehunga's wife whose marriage with him brought on the first war with Rangi-tane.

After a time Te Hore requested Te Hae-mata to allow her to visit her people, the Rangi-tane tribe, at Tamaki. On consent being given, she went and took with her her young daughter, Te Rua-poupou leaving the elder behind her; and never returned. For a long time after the above event, Te Kikiri, Te Hae-mata, Nga-Oko, Nga-Rangi-ka-hi-wera, Te Awhenga, Rangi-ka-taepa, and their people dwelt on their lands at Tawhao, Whenua-hou and in their *pa*, Horehore; and then Te Kikiri originated the idea of going to war again with Rangi-tane. This was agreed to by the chiefs and people, so Te Kikiri sent off messengers to Heretaunga to Nga-Rangi-ka-unuhia and his fellow chiefs to join him, which they agreed to do and at once marched to Te Takapau, where a council was held with Te Hae-mata and others as to their future proceedings. Whilst they were considering these matters, Rangi-totohu and his people joined them, in order that he might avenge the death of his father, Tu-taua, killed by Rangi-tane at the battle of Te Piripiri.

So Te Kikiri commenced the campaign against Rangi-tane, and the Rai-kapua *pa* was taken, Pohutu-wai battle was won, and Nga-toto *pa* also taken. The war-party then climbed over Te Ahu-o-Turanga* (which is the name of the old Maori track starting from near Woodville, that passed over the spurs of the Rua-hine Mountains, about a mile north of Manawatu Gorge, and came down on the west side and crossed the Pohangina River a little above the present Railway bridge) and on the other (west side of the range) gained the battle of Te Wai-whakatahe-o-Ngati-Kahu-ngunu (the stream where Ngati-Kahu-ngunu blood flowed—in the days of the *mana-Maori* time was an unknown quantity and long names did not require writing down). At this *pa*, one of the chiefs, named Matuku, came outside and asked, "Who is the head of this war-party?" Te Rangi-totohu called out in reply, "Te Kikiri-o-te-rangi!" Matuku then returned within the *pa* and afterwards came forth Te Tunga-o-te-rangi; and he made a lasting peace with the people of the war-party.

The war-party then returned to the east side of Te Ahu-o-Turanga from the district of Rangi-tikei, and went back to their homes at Tawhao and Whenua-hou. Whilst all the people were living in their *pas* at Horehore and Korako, further strife occurred with the Rangi-tane, of Tamaki, through Para-kiore and Tahywa having killed, near his *pa*, Te Upoko-o-Hine-tu, two chiefs named Mapuna and

*Te Ahu-o-Turanga is interesting historically from the fact that it was here that Turanga-i-mua, son of Turi (Captain of the "Aotea" canoe of 1350) was killed in battle with the *tangata-whenua* and the place named after him—The Altar of Turanga.

Whakaero, belonging to the Ngai-Tahu and Ngai-Toro-i-waho tribes (of Horehore *pa*). These murders were avenged shortly after in the battle of Wai-kari, when the Rangi-tane were defeated, and Tahiuwa and Para-kioere fled.

Enough, this was the end of the war carried on by the grandchildren of Te Whatu-i-apiti and Te Rehunga and their people; and Nga-rangi-ka-unuhia, together with his chiefs and people, returned to their own homes at Here-taunga.

This is the summation of the revenge taken by Te Kikiri, Nga-Okō, Te Hae-mata, and Te Awhenga for their defeat at the hands of Rangi-tane in the battles gained and *pas* taken at Te Paka-roa, Kota-tai-whetu, Nga-hore, Te Moana-i-rokia, Manga-tarata, and Te Piripiri, which last place is within the district of Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, near the town of Dannevirke:—Te Kikiri, Te Hae-mata, and their allied chiefs and people gained the following battles and took the following *pas* from Rangi-tane: Rai-kapua, Pohutu-wai, Nga-toto, Te Wai-whaka-tahe, Te Wai-kari, and Tirau-mea.

After the defeat of Rangi-tane in the places named, the descendants of Te Kikiri, Te Hae-mata, Nga-Okō-i-te-rangi, Nga-Rangi-ka-hi-wera, and Te Rangi-ka-taepa remained in peace on their lands at Tawhao and Whenua-hou and other places, all the time occupying their famous *pa* of Horehore, right down to the days of their descendants—thus:—(See the original Maori for the names.)

The names of the *hapus* (sub-tribes) who owned the *pa* Horehore were Ngai-Tahu, who lived permanently in the *pa*, that is, the descendants of Nga-Mahiwa, Te Ope-kai, Tawhiri-toroa, together with the Ngai-Toro-i-waho *hapu*, with the Ngati-Te-Kikiri *hapu*. Their tribal name is Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.

AMIO-WHENUA.

(Tanguru then relates the two following incidents in the history of the Horehore *pa*, which occurred in 1820, and which properly belongs to the narrative of the Amio-whenua expedition of Nga-Puhi, Ngati-whatua (of Kaipara), and Ngati-Maru (of the Thames), as related in J.P.S., Vol. IX., p. 88 (p. 96 of the reprint), and comes in after the end of the first paragraph on those pages. Notwithstanding many enquiries I have not been able to find out who Tangi-te-ruru, mentioned by Tanguru and others, was; but I think he commanded another division of the Amio-whenua expedition, and probably was of the Ngati-Maru tribe.)

Tanguru says: This is an account of some fighting that took place at Horehore *pa*: The first war-party from the northern coast that attacked the *pa* was the Amio-whenua expedition, composed of Ngati-Paoa, Ngati-

Maru (both from the Thames), and Nga-Puhi, besides other tribes of the northern coast. They were a long time besieging this *pa*, but it was not taken, nor was one man of the *pa* killed, and, indeed, none of the war-party either. So they gave it up and returned to their own country by way of Te Ahu-o-Turanga and the west coast, afterwards to Waikato and Wai-te-mata. (Sitting on the *toi* or summit of Horehore *pa*—which is called Te-toi-a-Uru—with old Tanguru, in April, 1904, the old man told us particulars of this siege, and named the chiefs who defended the *pa*, who were Te Kiri-o-Hawea, Toa-tau, Nga-Oko-i-te-rangi, Nga-Rangi-ka-hiwera, and Tuhua, Tanguru's father.)

THE WAR-PARTY OF TANGI-TE-RURU.

Very soon after the departure of the Amio-whenua party came the war-party of Tangi-te-ruru; they came by way of the east-coast, killing people as they advanced whom they found along the coast, and at Heretaunga, and assaulting the *pas* of these parts. But they took no *pas*—merely the people whom they found living in scattered places did they succeed in killing.

Then they come on and attacked the Horehore *pa*. They surrounded it, and after a time rushed it attempting to take it by assault. After they had fired a volley at the *pa*, some of the braves of the *pa* rushed out—Wi Te-Rurunga, Paora Te-Ngaero and others—and they succeeded in killing and bringing into the *pa* one of the enemy, whilst another was carried off by the war-party. The enemy now moved across the coomb on the south side of the *pa* and occupied the heights called Puena (about 200 yards from the *pa*) and from there kept up a constant fire on the *pa*.

Two days afterwards, seeing they could not take the *pa*, the war-party withdrew, and proceeded south along the main ridge to Waha-tuara and eventually came out to the coast at the mouth of Akitio River, and thence along the coast and inland along the ridge to Maunga-rake (near Masterton). When Tangi-te-ruru's party reached this end (north?) of Maunga-rake, his party were stricken with fear, because of the strength of the fires raging there, which commenced at the *pa* named Te Iringa, and extended to Haki-kino *pa* near Tupapaku-rua close to Whare-ama river. Enough, the war-party fled, fleeing along the ridge by way of Te Kotukutuku, and thence by the Kauhanga track (over Tararua Mountains) and came out to the west coast at Rangi-tikei, thence went on to Whanga-nui and finally to Waikato.

This ends the story of the war-parties of Amio-whenua, and of Tangi-te-ruru.

As a great deal of trouble has been taken in ascertaining the probable dates of events alluded to in the foregoing paper, they are here summarised in tabular form for ease of reference. I need hardly repeat, that they can only be considered as rough approximations, but we are never likely to get much better information. In process of time when the Native History of New Zealand comes to be written as a whole, this information will be of use.

Pou-heni, the son of Pai-kea, born about	...	...	A.D. 1300
Arrival of "the Fleet" in New Zealand from Hawaiki	...	...	1350
Porou and Tahu, ancestors of Ngati-Porou and Ngai-Tahu born about	...	...	1350
Tara of Ngai-Tara born about	...	...	1375
Ueroa born about	...	...	1400
Rakai-nui and Rangi-tane born about	...	...	1450
Kuhu-ngunu, born about	...	...	1450
Te Ao-mata-rahi, born about	...	...	1475
Rakai-hiku-roa, Rakai-paka and Whata born about	...	...	1500
Rakai-nui migrates to Port Nicholson	...	...	1500
Tu-puru-puru and Taraia born	...	...	1525
Rakai-hiku-roa, Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi migrate to Heretaunga	...	...	1550
Whata, settles at Taka-pau	...	...	1525 to 1550
Rakai-rangi and Te Rerewa born	...	...	1575
Rakai-rangi migrates from Heretaunga to South Wairarapa	...	...	1625
Rakai-maro born 1625, marries Hine-rau	...	...	1675
Ngarengare, migrates from Wairoa to Heretaunga	...	...	1625
Mahanga's migrates	„	„	— ?
Te Whakumu's migration from Tokomaru to South Wairarapa	...	...	1650
Te Whatu-i-Apiti of Te Roto-a-Tara born	...	...	1650
Te Rehunga of „ „ born (killed 1745)	...	...	1675
Nga-Oko-i-te-rangi, chief of Ngati-Ira born	...	...	1675
Cession of Whenua-hou and Tawhao to Te Rehunga and others—the feast	...	...	1700
And first war with Rangi-tane	...	...	1700
Te Hae-mata and others re-occupy Whenua-hou, etc.	...	...	1725
Te Kikiri-o-te-rangi makes war (2nd) on Rangitane	...	...	1730
„ war ends, and peace prevails	...	...	1750
Te Amio-whenua attacks Horehore pa	...	...	1820

A MAORI *TEKA*, OR FOOT-REST FOR THE
OLD MAORI SPADE.

THE accompanying illustration shows a foot-rest, or *teka* for the old Maori spade or *ko*, which is peculiar in that it is formed of the porous vertebra of a whale, having been carefully dubbed out with the axe—a steel one?—and subsequently carved. It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 3 inches wide on top, or where the foot rested. The lashings—usually made of *kiekie* roots, or supplejack—passed through the hole on the left side and fastened it firmly on to the *ko* itself. The *ko* was paddle-shaped, generally about 6 feet long,



with a sharp pointed blade 4 to 6 inches broad, at 9 inches from the point, the handle carved at the upper part. The *teka* was fastened on to the spade about 18 inches from its lower end. The *ko* was forced into the ground and there further inserted by the operator pressing his weight on the foot that rested on the *teka*. The length of the *ko* allowed of a good leverage, by which the earth was turned over in the *kumara* cultivations. This kind of work was usually done by a long row of men working in exact time to the words of a song.

The subject of the illustration comes from near Cape Egmont on the Taranaki coast, and is quite unique of its kind, for though wooden *teka* are not uncommon, no other specimen made of whale-bone is known. It is in the possession of Mr. W. H. Skinner of New Plymouth.



ROOT REDUCIBILITY IN POLYNESIAN.

BY WILLIAM CHURCHILL, B.A.

THE value of a careful study of the languages of the Polynesian, or Sawaiori,* family has almost entirely avoided the attention of philologists. For the most part the leaders of the science have been content to work the rich Indo-European and Semitic veins, and thereby have they overlooked the possibility of equal wealth of results to be obtained by the prosecution of investigation with the same degree of care into some of the families of human speech not included in the two types so thoroughly studied. So far as concerns the Malayo-Polynesian, the attitude of philological science seems to be concisely summed up in Whitney's words, here cited from memory: "Its philologic position has been established by Humboldt's 'Ueber die Kawi-Sprache,' and its internal barrenness has been disclosed by Fr. Mueller's Polynesian Grammar in the Novara work." Despite the weight of this authority, the question is so far from settled and disposed of by those two works, that of the mere handful of earnest workers in the Polynesian field the most of us incline to consider it better to divorce the Malay from such intimate association with the Sawaiori, as the term Malayo-Polynesian implies. While as to the second member of Whitney's dictum, we look upon Muller's Grammar as a curious misconception of those languages upon a note-book acquaintance with which he compiled it.

If the aim of the years of investigation in the field, and of the added years of painful research in the study, were merely to produce a grammar and a dictionary of even the most highly developed of the Polynesian tongues, the most enthusiastic student would have to confess such a result futile in its inutility. Such a dictionary of the Samoan, to cite a concrete instance, which I have now well advanced towards completion, would amount to no more than the record of the speech of an obscure and civilly unimportant people at present

* Sawaiori, a term invented by Whitmee to represent the Polynesian Race, composed of Sa(moa), (Ha)wai, (Ma)ori.—ED.

resting at about the 40,000 mark on census rolls. To the Samoans themselves the work would ever remain closed. To the white men brought into association with them, probably never to exceed a few hundred at any one time, such a work would be useless; their needs can easily be supplied by a jargon of a few hundred vocables easily acquired and loosely used, the refinement of philological apparatus would be wasted under the normal conditions of island life. Yet that such a record of island speech can offer matter of far more than merely curious interest to the student of the growth of human speech it is the purpose of this paper to point out in some broad and general measure, calling attention to the possibilities of a field hitherto neglected, leaving the proof for more detailed consideration.

It is not entirely through accident that I have chosen the Samoan as the vehicle of researches into the philosophy of Polynesian speech. There was an initial hesitation as to which of several tongues, equally familiar, to pursue, and it was only after mature deliberation that my choice fell upon the Samoan, as offering the best medium for the presentation of the most valuable results. This accords equally with facts developed by ethnographers of this island region, facts which should be sketched in a brief preliminary statement.

Omitting reference to the difficult problem of the starting point of the migration, which in successive streams peopled the Pacific, we are amply justified in regarding it as established that the Polynesians made their appearance in the great ocean at the eastern verge of the Malay seas, that their voyages swept down the chain of islands which parallel the Australian coast, and left at intervals some Polynesian inclusions* in Melanesian communities, which yet remain as interesting landmarks, and that a definite general settlement of the early wave of migration was made in the islands of the central Pacific between the parallels of 13° and 11° south of the line and within a few hundred miles either way of the meridian of 180°. Next, and after such interval as to allow the first settlements to become well established† a second wave of migration followed the same course and

* "These Polynesian outliers are to be found in Uea, one of the Loyalty Islands; in Futuna, a small island of the North Hebrides; in Fate, Sandwich Island; in some of the islets of the Sheppard group, and notably in the settlement of Mae, in Three Hills; in Tikopia, north of Banks' Islands, and in several of the Swallow group near Santa Cruz; in Rennell and Bellona, south of the Solomon Islands, and in Ongtong Java, near Ysabel."—Codrington's "Melanesian Languages," p. 7.

† This conclusion develops naturally out of the evident idea of the Samoans that they were autochthons. Only in such a view can we orient the valuable "Solo o le Va" which is in the author's Mss. collection of "Samoa o le Vavau" and may be found in an interesting version in the JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, Vol. vi., p. 19. It is a magnificent creation story, rude with the massive inexorability of the Lucretian Epicureanism.

caused, first, wars in the earlier settlements in central Polynesia, and later the historic age of the great voyages. In these voyages the canoe fleets pushed out to the eastward, to Rarotonga, the Cook, the Gambier, the Hervey groups, to Tahiti, to the archipelago of the Paumotu, to remote Te Pito-te-whenua, ever eastward until land upon the trackless sea failed their daring keels, not courage their stout hearts. Then to the north swept the stream, to the Marquesas and to the peopling of Hawaii. To the south steered yet other fleets to colonise New Zealand. Magnificent deeds these were of seacraft, worthy to be studied more closely in Percy Smith's "Hawaiki."* For the present purpose they are mentioned to show that Samoa with its next neighbours was the clearing house, the point of distribution, the palm as it were from which stretch these fingers bravely grasping out into the unknown, clutching and keeping, and holding the Pacific for a single homogeneous race. This region of first settlement and later hive of swarming we shall find it a convenience to distinguish by a name. "Nuclear Polynesia" will serve, for it commits us to no theories, it simply sets forth in brief statement the fact that at some time there began to be, as there still remains, a Polynesian population of the islands of Fiji, Rotuma, Uvea, Futuna, Tonga, Niuë and Samoa with the inclusion of a few more immediately adjacent islands. In this Nuclear Polynesia, Tonga represents in great likelihood the resting folk of the second wave of migration, Samoa the survivors of the first migration, and the outlying islands the resultant of the two forces, each island offering a pretty problem of its own which it is not within the province of such a paper as this to introduce.

Few indeed are the tongues of uncultured man which have been heard over so wide a dispersion as this of the Polynesians. If we be willing to accede to the old classification of the makers of philological systems and use the term Malayo-Polynesian, we may point out upon the maps such a dissemination of a single speech as no other language family could show, until the fleets of highly advanced culture conquered the orb of the world for Indo-Germanic speech. Picture to yourselves the confines of this one speech. Madagascar, almost beached on Africa, marks its western limit, Te Pito-te-whenua, possibly more generally familiar under its map name of Easter Island,

* This interesting account of the Polynesian periplus of this keen student of ethnology first appeared in the Journals of the Polynesian Society and then in a book with the title "Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori" 1898, and later in a second edition with the title "Hawaiki: The Original Home of the Maori" 1904. The second edition is greatly enlarged and practically a new book, to such an extent indeed that it by no means retires the earlier edition.

stands as its eastern landmark far out over against the South American coast, to the south it reaches down into the winter chill of the southern tip of New Zealand, to the north it has braved in Hawaii the fires of Pele and the Hiiaka, her sisters; it has sought out the loneliness of Guam and has developed into more than one language in the Philippines. Of all tongues the Polynesian proper has undergone the least modification from outside influences, in fact those of us who incline to cut loose from the Malay association, number but some 150 Malay roots as the sole contamination of the Polynesian. On the other hand no other family of languages has made such slight contributions to the languages of major culture. Our English, greediest of all in absorbing new words from whatever source, owes to the Polynesian no more than the two vocables "tabu" and "tattoo." Even so insignificant a race as the Caribs, who faded before the Europeans like a frost-blighted flower, have given us as much or more.

The languages of this family are of one structure, of a common vocabulary. Yet they have been so widely separated that there has been for centuries no relation of intercourse and each has developed for itself. They are individual languages, not mere dialects. The Maori, the Samoan, the Hawaiian are as far apart as are the English, the Dutch and the High German, as are French, Spanish and Italian. After full consideration of the objects of this research into the Polynesian family it has been determined that the Samoan will best serve to develop the underlying principles of this interesting speech. We must defer the broader questions of the relationship of the Polynesian type of language with the languages spoken by Melanesian people, of a clearly distinct ethnic stock, and of a kinship which may subsist between Polynesian and Melanesian tongues on the one hand (if indeed they are to be grasped within one array of fingers) and those specifically classed as Malayan on the other.

For an appreciation of what linguistic research among the Polynesian tongues is expected to offer for the service of philology we should note the ultimate attainment of that science. The benefit, it should be said, has passed the stage of expectation, in a steadily lengthening chain it has been brought to the proof in my Polynesian studies, to which this paper is in some sort an introduction and a partial syllabus.

From the "Cratylus" to Leibnitz the study of speech, ever a fascinating pursuit, was nothing more than a web of wildly spun fancies, a composition of superficial resemblances, a diversion destitute of all logical method, for the good and very sufficient reason that deduction was impossible in the absence of the data from which to

deduce. In one and twenty centuries, half the epoch of Napoleon's measure of the Pyramids, not one advance was made. More languages had come into the theatre of wisdom, yet a science of language remained unborn. The races of the earth who spoke outside the narrow range of a handful of the languages of major culture still remained the *βάρβαροι*, the men whose speech to the cultivated ear was but the uncomprehended ba-ba. The puerilities of the great Saxon are the unaltered absurdities of the Attic philosopher. It was not until the European discovery of the Sanskrit that philology became at all possible. The ultimate triumph of philological analysis through comparison has been to reduce language to a collection of roots. Out of such roots develop the parts of speech, the models of declension, the canons of syntax. In all speech growth, to the highest nicety of inflection and synthesis, to the most flexible facility of our tongues in the analytic type, the underlying security is this root, that which through all the ages carries the vital principle with which this rudimentary combination of sounds comes to us out of the darkness of the period of selective differentiation. In all the families of speech which have yet been subjected to scientific method of analysis the root is found the ultimate expression, a thing irreducible, whether it be the frequently vocalized root of Aryan speech or the crystal trigrammatism of the consonantal Semitic.

The work of analysis of Polynesian speech has now progressed to a point where we are warranted in the announcement that the Samoan as typical of its family in the highest and last degree, opens to the investigator of speech phenomena a plain and simple path in the direction of the next great advance. This is to consist in the reduction of the hitherto irreducible, the analysis of the root, the discovery of that which, in permissible continuation of a metaphor already accepted, we may not unfitly call the seed. This next step toward the principle of human speech—what a step it is! It brings us to the verge of that stage in evolution where the discriminative modulation of the cry had but just become reasoning speech in development of the reflexes of sound formation.

Before proof can be brought to bear on this important point of ultimate analysis, it would be advisable to posit more or less familiarity with Polynesian speech.

In the discussion of philological problems it is a permissible assumption that the interested reader is familiar with the methods and results of the linguistic investigation of the Indo-European tongues. Thus, in the matter of principle and illustration, the development of a new idea may proceed smoothly, and the writer may not improperly count on leading his readers *pari passu* to the

purser hand, and on the other and weakened side the *fau* of Tahiti, the *haa* and *hoo* of Hawaii, which has still further degenerated into *ha* and *ho*.*

Within the century which is our sole historical period for these oceanic tongues we have been able to trace the backward surge of the rejected *k*. In regions as remote as Hawaii and Samoa the *k* once discarded has swept back into speech with irresistible momentum, but it has not fallen back into its proper place. Instead it has seized upon the lingual *t* and has dragged it backward to the palatal of the same group of mutes. In Hawaii at the time of its discovery this phonetic change had been but partly accomplished, as one may recognize from such forms as Tereeooboo (Kalaniopuu) and Tahy-terree (Kahakili) found in Captain King's narrative of Cook's death; yet at the time when the missionaries reduced the language to writing the *k* transformation was well-nigh complete. In Samoa the change has come to pass entirely in the period since the introduction of the alphabet. The missionaries fulminate against the kappation, but the change has been as complete as in Hawaii except that the *t* has kept its place in the written word. On the lips of men the lingual *t* is now heard only in the most formal address to chiefs of rank and from the Samoan pulpit. A similar, yet a completely double, change is at the same time in progress between the lingual and the palatal of the nasal group. The *n* is passing into the *ng* and the latter in turn is moving forward in the mouth to become *n*. Thus, such a word as *finagalo* is more commonly spoken *figanalo*. Measured by the standards set up by the men who first fitted the alphabet to express Samoan speech these things are all corruptions. A broader view

* A list of the *faka* forms in the insular tract is interesting as showing how uniformly the strength of the word subsists in its vowel elements and that the dialectic variations appear in the flux of the consonants. This accords very well with other evidence that in Polynesian the permanent value lies in the vocalic seed and that from it roots are produced through the modulation of the several consonants, these being a later evolution and therefore less permanently established.

Samoa	<i>fa'a</i>	Tahiti	<i>haa, faa</i>
Hawaii	<i>haa, ha, hoo, ho</i>	Tonga	<i>faka</i>
Rarotonga	<i>aka</i>	Marquesas	<i>haka, haa</i>
Mangareva	<i>aka</i>	Paumotu	<i>faka, haka</i>
Futuna	<i>faka</i>	Uvea	<i>faka</i>
Nguna	<i>vaka, paka</i>	Rotuma	<i>a, faka</i>
Fiji	<i>vaka</i>	New Britain	<i>wara</i>
Fate	<i>baka</i>	Sesake	<i>vaka</i>
Espiritu Santo	<i>vaga</i>	Oba	<i>vaga</i>
Maewo	<i>vaga</i>	Mota	<i>vaga</i>
Ulawa	<i>haa</i>	Wano	<i>haa</i>
Fagani	<i>faga</i>	Sa'a	<i>haa</i>

denies the authority of the accident of what chanced to be custom at the time of the first reduction to writing and sees in these progressive phonetic changes a flux and reflux which is more than dialectic variation, which represents a great idiosyncratic movement in Polynesian speech as a whole.

To the cumulative strength of a double consonant no Polynesian tongue has yet advanced, the nasalized *ng* and the aspirated semivowel of the Maori *wh* being only in form double. In the Fijian area, where we are on the border line of Polynesia, we find strongly nasalized consonants in *b* (*mb*), *d* (*nd*), *g* (*ng*) *q* (*ngg*), and westward along the Melanesian stem double consonants are not uncommon.

In like manner the Samoan has scarcely crystallized into diphthongs. Under proper incidence of the tonic accent two vowels may unite into the production of an apparent diphthong. Yet that such an association is purely temporary, existing only so long as that which caused it in the beginning remains active, is to be seen in the prompt dissolution of the seeming diphthong when for any reason the incidence of the tonic accent is shifted. Thus, in the frequent name Tuisamau the normal paroxytone gives us Tuisamáu; from *mau* it is but a slight and indolent elision to *mau* equivalent to the English diphthong *ow*. So long as one is speaking about the man Tuisamau the sound of Tuisamow is good Samoan. Let one address the man, however, using the vocative *e*, which invariably attracts the accent; at once the diphthong dissolves and we say Tuisamaú *e*.

The syllable in the present stage of Polynesian speech (disregarding here the enticing problems of Rotuma with double consonants and closed syllables) is otherwise invariably open, its scheme comprises no more than an unsupported vowel or a consonant introducing a vowel. The closed syllable survives only as a memory in certain composition forms, which, without this explanation as survivals, introduce a jumble of uncoordinate and inexplicable elements of modulation. Deferring the proof of this point in the present inquiry it suffices to note that in Samoan anterior to the historical period closed syllables were permissible.

The structure of the Samoan period is illustrated in the following;—

'ava *e* ! 'ava taumanu ! 'ava !
 se 'ava 'ea lenā maifea ?
 'o le 'ava lenā mai le Alofia'ana.
 'o le 'ava 'ula lenā
 le'i 'e te folasia ma maia,
 'a e fagufagu ai Tāgatea o loo tofā,
 te'ite'i a'e ia, 'ua to le pagā.

Kava ! fragrant kava ! kava !
 That kava, whence comes it ?
 That kava's from the Alofia'ana.
 That ruddy kava,
 Shout it not forth nor chew it,
 But with it waken Tangatea w'ho's
 sleeping
 Start him up, trouble's afoot !

The interesting syntax of the speech is well illustrated in this extract, and when time serves it will abundantly repay close analysis. In the present inquiry we are to concern ourselves with words, not their arrangement to make continuous sense, but their form and construction as words.

In the foregoing passage we count 44 words, listed according to their shape in the following table:—

e (2)	'ava (6)	taumanu	folasia	Alofia'ana
se	'ea	maifea	fagufagu	
'o (2)	lenā (3)	maia	Tagatea	
le (4)	'ula		te'ite'i	
mai	le'i			
'e	loo			
te	tofā			
ma	a'e			
'a	ia			
ai	pagā			
o				
i				
'ua				
to				
19	17	3	4	1

Here we find 19 monosyllables, including the temporary diphthongs *ai* and *mai* and *'ua* ('wa). The dissyllables number 17, in which are counted 6 repetitions of the word *'ava*. Of the 3 trisyllables we note the worn *maifea*, and as its former half lies in the verse thesis there is no way of discrimination as to whether the *ai* is functioning as diphthong or as two vowels, and the same holds in regard of the *au* in *taumanu*. Of words of four syllables we find four, of which two are reduplicated dissyllables. And beyond this we have a word of six syllables, *Alofia'ana*, a compound of two trisyllables. Such is about the normal proportion of the language.

Our investigations into the syntax of the Samoan supply us with a parallel set of figures. The type of speech is far too early to fall into classification under the classical parts of speech. Our Samoan words fall into but three classes. These are, the attributive, the demonstrative and the paradeictic. The attributives are the appellations of specific things, reducible at the outset to expressions of acts and qualities; out of this class, through discriminative selection is to arise the later development of the noun, the verb, the adjective and the adverb, and in this class are certainly included *ab initio* many of the exclamations which endure extra-grammatically to the period of the highest speech development. The demonstratives are the first vague indicia of speech which supplement tone and the pointing finger to designate time, place, number and motion, and to circumscribe the identity of individuals not already made clear by

attribution; out of this class are to develop the pronoun and a small but important class of adverbs, according as the demonstrative leans toward the nominal or toward the verbal signification still consociated in the attributive vocable. The third class, the paradeictic, I find it advisable to propose for a small class of the most rudimentary words, which are neither to be classed as attributive nor to be properly grouped as demonstrative, their function is to indicate that a relation exists between two words with which they are placed, and in their fuller use to designate of what sort is that relation; this class is to produce the later preposition, the conjunction and much of the family of the particle. The class is but provisionally proposed, it may in the end find its proper place in the demonstrative.

The next tabulation of our specimen extract is based upon the frequency of these three elementary word-classes, as follows:—

Attributive.	Demonstrative.	Paradeictic.
'ava (6)	se	e (2)
taumanu	'ea	mai
Alofa'ana	lenā (8)	ma
'ula	maifea	'a
folasia	'o (2)	o
maia	le (4)	loo
fagufagu	'e	i
Tagata	te	le'i
tofā	ai	'ua
te'ite'i	a'e	
to	ia	
pagā		
17	17	10

In our specimen text we find 17 attributives, including the two words *folasia* and *maia*, which in a former paper* have been shown to be attributives compounded of an attributive, a paradeictic and a demonstrative; of these 17 but one is a monosyllable, nine are dissyllables and six of the seven remaining polysyllables resolve into dissyllables at a glance.

In reckoning the 17 demonstratives in the same passage we find 14 simple, and 3 occurrences of the same compound demonstrative *lenā*. Of the 17 instances 5 are dissyllabic, 10 monosyllabic, and 1 (*ai*) may be added to either list as it may be held to be diphthong or two vowels, for convenience we cast it up with the monosyllables. The trisyllabic *maifea* resolves into a paradeictic monosyllable and a demonstrative dissyllable.

A count of the 10 paradeictic words shows 7 undeniably monosyllabic, 2 undoubtedly dissyllabic, 1 (*mai*) in doubt by reason of the diphthong.

*"Principles of Samoan Word Composition," Journal of the Polynesian Society, XIV., 86.

This brief excursion into the arithmetic of the passage will be found indicative, in the question of where the Samoan falls among the classes of systematic philology. The sum of the arithmetic is this: 38'6 per cent. are attributive, 38'6 per cent. demonstrative, 22'8 per cent. paradeictic: of the attributives 5'9 per cent. (2'3 per cent. of the whole number of words) are of one syllable, 53 per cent. (20 per cent.) are dissyllables, and 35 per cent. (14 per cent.) reduce to dissyllables; of the demonstratives 65 per cent. (25 per cent.) are monosyllables, 29 per cent. (11 per cent.) are dissyllables; of the paradeictics 80 per cent. (25 per cent.) are monosyllables, 20 per cent. (4'5 per cent.) dissyllables; for the whole passage without discrimination of the class of words 45'4 per cent. are words of one syllable, 36'3 per cent. of two, 6'8 per cent. of three, 8'8 per cent. of four, 2'3 per cent. more than four.

The slightest familiarity with the Samoan will show that it is many degrees more primitive than the analytic type of language.

It is only indirectly, and with an utter absence of detail, that I am aware that even one effort has been made to establish any of the Polynesian tongues in the inflected class. The only basis upon which a student of the Maori can rest such a reported claim must be in the so-called passive verb, of which *folasia* and *maia* in the foregoing *kava* hymn are examples. It is simpler to regard these forms as compounds of the three classes of words, phrases in the act of cohesion.

Between the agglutinative and the monosyllabic types of speech our Samoan must lie. The systematists have commonly assigned the Malayo-Polynesian language to the agglutinative class. With the Malayan we need not here concern ourselves, it has its own students and they may be trusted to look after their own. But in the assignment of the Polynesian to the agglutinative class, one of the postulates of the whole system of classification has been not only disregarded but actually traversed. "Monosyllabism and agglutination," says André Lefèvre,* "have in common the inalterability of the root or full syllable, and the alteration in the sense of the subordinate or empty syllable; to agglutination alone belongs the change in the form of the subordinate root." Over against this positive statement set these others: Subordinate roots in Samoan have scarcely at all any tendency to become empty; in form and meaning the subordinate roots are yet unaltered. No, Samoan is far more readily comprehended as a language of monosyllabic or isolating type, showing, however, an expectation of the next more advanced type, the agglutinative, in that it is strongly featured by a sort of cohesion of

* "Race and Language," 87.

original monosyllables to produce a type of dissyllabic speech. Against our showing of figures set the following statement of Whitney* relative to the Polynesian: "The roots, if we may call them so, the most ultimate elements accessible to our analysis, are prevailingly dissyllabic."

Return once again to the arithmetic of our *kava* hymn. Its monosyllables 45'4 per cent., its dissyllables 36'3 per cent.; its polysyllables will repay investigation. Three of them resolve into cohesions of dissyllable with dissyllable, one to a cohesion of trisyllable with trisyllable (it would be tedious to indicate its further reducibility), two to cohesion of monosyllable with dissyllable, one to a dissyllable with a monosyllable and yet another to the compaction of three monosyllables. Our polysyllables, then, yield us seven monosyllables, nine dissyllables, and two trisyllables which may again be reduced to a monosyllable and a dissyllable apiece, giving us nine monosyllables and 11 dissyllables. Distributing these on the former record (19 monosyllables, 17 dissyllables) we find in the passage 28 monosyllables and 6 dissyllables, or 82'3 per cent. and 17'7 per cent. respectively. Thus it is seen that more than three-quarters of the language is yet monosyllabic on the face of it, even though the idiosyncratic fondness for the technic of reduplication gives the tongue as dissyllabic a tone as the *glug-glug* of water from the pierced coconut.

In the former paper, in approaching this topic along the lines proper to the consideration of Samoan word composition, it was shown how easy it is to undo this cohesion of the root monosyllables which are found in the dissyllabic word stems. Here let us assume that such has been done in all cases, as has been done with the greatest facility in most of the cases which have passed under review, and that we have before us the monosyllabic roots of Samoan speech and none other than monosyllables. It is to this point that this discussion, necessarily *multis ambagibus*, has been directed.

It is at this point of reduction to roots, and all monosyllables at that, a point to which our Polynesian leads us more simply than the researches in the tangle of Indo-European linguistics, that I hope to show that which I feel to my own satisfaction I am accomplishing in these prolonged Polynesian studies, namely out of the mass of roots to pick the yet more primitive element, the seed of language.

It has been shown, only tentatively and approximately, of course, in the present stage of our studies, that as we proceed in the clearing away of the polysyllables of Samoan speech we find some 525 dissyllables and 45 monosyllables which are recognizable as raw

* "Life and Growth of Language," 248.

material out of which the vocabulary is formed. It should be plain at a moment's glance of the thought that just in proportion as we reduce the polyphase character of the words of the vocabulary by so much do we increase the content of each residual formative element, stem or root as the case may be. So much the more must this obtain when we venture on so ultimate a dissection of our simplest roots to such individual life cells as may properly be designated seeds of speech.

Let us observe this feature of the widening of the content from a highly specialized form as we dissect it down to its seed in a meaning well nigh protoplasmic in its simplicity.

In the word *tanumia* we have a form that, in the vain effort to parse Samoan through the grammars of English, French and German, together with the truly marvelous assistance of the Hebrew, has been described as passive voice, middle voice or deponent. By a more natural method, that of the true grammar of the monosyllabic speech as deduced from uniformity of usage in this group of forms, it becomes simple and most easy of explanation. Then we find no difficulty in accounting for the fact of observation, that *tanumia* may mean "to bury" when used in one way and just as certainly may mean "to be buried" when used in another. Of one thing we may be sure, the confusion as to voice exists only in our minds and arises out of the faultiness of our method of statement. To the Samoan there is no confusion whatever. He knows perfectly well whether the *tanumia* of any given locution means "to be buried" or "to bury." There is no room for error, his intelligence is keen and it cannot have escaped him that between the two usages there is the same degree of distinction as between the here and the hereafter, and that the man who has been interred, when his sole intent was to convey the idea of burying his fellow, is placed in an impossible situation as regards coming back to explain his error. Survival of the fittest may be relied upon to prevent the permanent establishment of such rhetorical solecisms.

We explain *tanumia* as a word phrase held together by cohesion of the attributive *tanum*, the paradeictic *i* and the demonstrative *a*. Its sense is this :—

<i>tanum</i>	is-a-spreading-over
<i>i</i>	having-reference-to
<i>a</i>	that-one

In a former paper we have seen that *tanum* is visible as the earlier stem of the existing vocable *tanu* which has resulted from the repugnance of the present Polynesian to the closed syllable. This dissyllabic stem breaks apart into two monosyllabic roots *ta* and *num*. The latter is found in a line of composite forms from which we may

deduce its elemental signification "to spread one thing over another, to cover it," and with particular reference to the thing which is covered in contradistinction to the stem *ufit*, which particularizes the covering agent. The root *ta* through its long series of known combinations carries a strongly featured sense of action that is peripheral, centrifugal, and there seems to be at least a suspicion of the further connotation that the action is exerted downward. When these two roots are placed in sequence we find that the action of *num* is regarded as following upon and completing that of *ta*, and the compound signifies "to be the making of a movement away from the agent, and generally downward, as a result of which some object is covered out of sight by some material spread over it."

Looking only at the form of these two roots it will be seen that they differ. So with others which inspection of the language will show, but which may not be presented here without too much delay. Suffice it to record the following scheme of root-forms as deducible from the materials under examination.

1 Simple vowel	√E (to hoot at)	<i>eina</i>
2 Consonant—vowel	√TO (to plant)	<i>toina</i>
3 Vowel—consonant	√UT (to bite)	<i>utia</i>
4 Consonant—vowel—consonant	√NUM (to cover)	<i>numia</i>

These are the possible combinations of elements which may form roots of monosyllabic speech in a plane anterior to the acquisition of the double consonant. Types 1 and 2 are those which occur in Samoan of the present; but 3 and 4, the two closed types, are just below the surface, and may easily be derived as existing in Proto-samoan.

Now let us prosecute the investigation of the root *ta*, manifestly an elemental type of root, only one degree less primitive than the unmodified vowel as root; yet that single difference characterises the enormous distance which separates human speech from the animal cry, the modulation of the vowel of the open throat through the consonant which is formed by the agency of some one or more of the buccal organs which lie at the service of the third frontal convolution of the brain, to give man that possession of articulate speech to which the highest apes have not attained.

We observe that *ta* is of the second type of monosyllabic root, a combination of the vowel *a* with the prior placed consonant *t*. It is plain that the same vowel *a* is susceptible of combination in the same way with every other consonant which the Samoans have acquired the art to use. From this we deduce the following diagram of the possibilities of the whole of this second type for the vowel *a* :—

<i>ya</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nga</i>
<i>na</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>va</i>
<i>fa</i>	<i>'a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>pa</i>

In the present early stage of the inquiry it is necessary to postpone consideration of one factor that will at once present itself, namely that the character *a* does not so completely as any of the consonantal symbols represent a vocal unit. We have in the Samoan at least three sounds represented by this one character, the long *ā* is the *ā* of the English word *father* and the Samoan *mānu* "to rise above," the short *ā* is the *ā* of the English *mat*, Samoan *mānu* "animal;" there is yet a more obscure sound, like that of *u* in the English *but*, Samoan, *mate* (mucke) "dead." In working over the texts it is impossible in the absence of diacritical punctuation to differentiate these several sounds; that can be done only when one has an ear as well as tongue trained to the speech. In these notes the aim has been to cling to one of the *a* sounds as distinct from the other two.

From the preceding table we may cancel, at least for the present, the *ya* and *wa*, for in current Samoan they appear only in the less simple forms of *kya* ('*ia*) and *kwa* ('*ua*). The ten persisting forms of our diagram remain to us as occurring first in their simplest or root form and secondarily in a large series of cohesions with other roots.

Proceed, now, to an inspection of these forms:—

In this reduction we are proceeding from the particularized meaning of the composite form to a simple form with which we are to find associated a less specialized sense, in fact a nebula of meaning in which it is not going to be easy to select the one feature which to the early Polynesian intelligence seemed the common factor. Yet difficult though it may be to segregate this root sense we cannot fail to recognize that each of these simple roots is quivering with a value of signification which is vital even unto the most remote use of the root in all the composite forms into which it enters.

Because the Polynesian has not yet been the subject of general philological study, its illustrations would be all unfamiliar. Furthermore we are dealing with tongues lacking a recorded past: they are practically on a single speech plane, and lack the contrast of perspective. Therefore it is necessary, at least to be preferred, to illustrate this factor of the intense and persisting vitality of the root sense by citing an example from the Indo-European family, both as more familiar and as presenting an extended record.

At the ultimate reduction to Sanskrit roots we find the root *ṣru*. It means to hear, it speedily develops into the added meaning of to be worth the hearing, thence it comes to stand for a thing famous. From it we have κλύω "to hear," κλυτός "renowned," our own "loud," κλέος, -κλείω, κλεινός, κλειτός, and others in the Greek that will readily suggest themselves. From it we find in the Latin *clueo*, *cliens*, and

inclitus, *gloria* and its derivatives, *clarus* and its group, *laus* and dependents. So in English we owe to the root *çru* such diverse forms as *loud*, *client*, *glory*, *clear*, *declare*, and *laud*. All these highly specialised senses rest upon the broad signification with which *çru* comes into our speech, the name of the act or condition of hearing and of being heard.

In like manner we may take the Sanskrit root *kan* and chain it through *κανάσω*, *κανάω*, *καναχή*, *κόναβος*, *κύκρος*, and an even longer line of Latin forms to *chant*, *enchant*, *recant*, *accent*, *cygnet*, *et id genus omne*. Its ultimate sense is the sound of singing, or possibly sound of any sort.

At some early stage—ornithology shows that it may well have been in the Zend or Iranian stage—the note of a bird stood out from the crudities of life in such a way as to command attention enough to make it a topic of human speech, therefore, in the absence of any Adamic appellative, to be described in such manner as to indicate which bird was meant. It was a note crepuscular when all other birds with contented tweets had sought the nest and silence. In the evening stillness burst upon the soft air when other sounds were none the trills and roulades of this serenade. At once the two roots flew together, *çru-kan*, “hark to the song,” “song worthy to hear.” At the beginning, descriptive of this woodnote wild, it became fixed to that one bird by frequency of use and aptness of description. It gives us *lusciniā*, *lusciniola*, *rossignol*, *ruisenor*, Queen Titania’s “Philomel with melody,” the nightingale.

When the descriptive “hark to the singing” has become welded upon *Luscinia philomela* of ornithologic binomialism it would seem that it had reached a degree of specialization from which it could never be dislodged. Yet there was set into *çru* and into *kan* at the beginning a vitality that comes once more into the same name-creative activity after a lapse of unknown centuries and half around the world or more. When French peasants settled upon American lands along the St. Lawrence and in other colonies at the mouths of Mississippi, they found before them the task of naming new forms of life. In Canada they found the song sparrow, a bird of the sweetest note of all the songsters of the northern woods; in Louisiana their ears were caught by the marvellous melody of the mocking bird. Neither of these birds is in any patent way like the nightingale of northern France, its habits are different, there is no resemblance to the eye, the song of the song sparrow is in no sense the song of the mocking bird and neither one is like the note of the nightingale. Yet in each case the French settlers gave to the mocking bird, and to the Laurentian song sparrow, the name of the nightingale, *rossignol*. All

at once, when the new conditions accent a new need, *rossignol* ceases to be specialized, it goes back to *lusciniola*, to *luscinia*, further back it goes to its roots in *çru* and *kan* "hark to the song" and becomes a proper exercise of the naming power by virtue of the vitality of those two roots.

So in our Samoan shall we find a like vitality of the common factor in words that have undergone many changes. Keep in mind this essence of vitality, for we shall need it.

Now let us proceed to the detailed examination of this one group of Samoan roots. We have already dealt with *ta* as carrying a strongly featured sense of peripheral, centrifugal action, and possibly from above downward. See how that sense persists. We have the word *ta* meaning to strike, to beat the drum, to play a musical instrument, to wash clothes (and the result upon the apparel shows that the beating is no mere philologic deduction). In *tatatau* we find it shows the stroke of the mallet on the tattooing needle. Here is a selection from the composite forms and specialized senses in which *ta* appears:—

<i>tai'a</i>	(i'a, fish)	to catch certain fish and <i>palolo</i>
<i>tafue</i>	(fue, a vine)	a skipping rope
<i>ta'eu</i>	(eu, to pluck out)	to scratch the ground (action of hens)
<i>tafiti</i>	(fiti, to start up)	to turn a somersault
<i>apata</i>	(apa'au, wing)	to flap the wings
<i>ma'ata</i>	(ma'a, a stone)	a sling
<i>talita</i>	(tali, to receive)	to parry a blow
<i>taututa</i>	(tautu, to begin to stand)	to rebound

In all these words the motion sense is plain, it is from a centre outward upon some object, it acts in the end upon the non-ego and the not-here. Likewise the motion in the descending arc is by no means obscure.

Let us now scan a brief conspectus of several forms in which we find the root, *va*:—

<i>va</i>		to have a space between
<i>vae</i>		to divide, to put a space between
<i>vainiu</i>	(i, in, <i>niu</i> , nut	a short cocoanut between tall ones
<i>vagai</i>		to be opposite one another, to be astride
<i>vasa'i</i>		to alternate
<i>musuva</i>	(musu, to whisper)	to whisper with the next person

In this series of illustrations, greatly as their specific significations may vary, it is not difficult to extract the greatest common divisor. It is the concept of the non-ego and the not-here differentiated by a coefficient which specifies a reference to that which lies outward from

the ego and hither from the not-here, it localizes the sense in the area between the periphery and the centre.

Now let us present a few illustrative facts bearing upon the root *nga* of our diagram, using in the established Samoan alphabet *ga* to represent the sound :—

<i>gautā</i>	(<i>uta</i> , landward)	inland a little way
<i>gaga'e</i>	(<i>a'e</i> , up, east)	eastward a little way
<i>gagaifo</i>	(<i>ifo</i> , down, west)	westward a little way
<i>gafoa</i>	(<i>foa</i> , broken)	to be chipped or notched

In this diminutive we may discover a signification of the limitation of the extent of the not-here, a reduction of its distance or degree.

Of course the *ng* and the *n* are found in present Samoan in a state of flux, and the same condition may have existed continuously or intermittently through earlier formative periods of the speech. We will, therefore, place our examination of *na* in immediate succession to that of *ga* :—

<i>na</i>		this, these, that, those
<i>na</i>		he, she
<i>na</i>		paradeictic, specifying past time
<i>lena</i>	(<i>le</i> , article)	that one in particular
<i>ana</i>	(<i>a</i> , when)	when, in past time

Here we find the non-ego distinctly specialized, first in a sense approximately that of the demonstrative pronoun of the grammars more familiar to our studies. Even in the sense of "this" it yet remains a remote demonstrative, for the Samoan has *nei*, *lenei*, to express the proximate demonstrative. *Lenā* is a later development of *na* through the addition of a very weak demonstrative *le*, whose functions are about evenly divided between those of a definite article and the indication of a singular number. Likewise we find the not-here (the not-now) sharply particularised to the not-now time that has gone before.

Returning to the substantive series of these roots, whose consideration was interrupted solely because it seemed advisable to put *na* into such close association with *nga* as it has in the phonology, we will next examine the root *pa* :—

<i>pa</i>		to explode, sound of gun or thunder, to burst, of an abscess
<i>fa'apa</i>	(<i>fa'a</i> , causative)	to fire off
<i>pa'i</i>		to touch, to reach to, to arrive at
<i>pasami</i>	(<i>sami</i> , sea)	to reach to the sea
<i>pavao</i>	(<i>vao</i> , the jungle)	to reach to the bush

Here we find the non-ego and the not-here stated as a limit of motion, not so much the fact that the motion definitely arrives but

clearly connoting its outward start from the here in the direction of the not-here, this connotation being so clear as to express the violence of the start in *pa* and its causative *fa'apa*.

Roots of the type *fa* which our diagram calls for are less obvious. There are several vocables which may be proved to fall into this scheme; but, as their interrelation and their share in this group are obscure, the consideration of the *fa* root may be deferred until some later and more particular investigation of the subject now presented only in an introduction.

The type *ka* is likewise to be postponed, at least so far as concerns anything like a detailed consideration. When Samoan was reduced to writing the *k* had left the tongues of men and was indicated by the catch ('). Owing to inappreciation of the fine shade of intonation which marks the difference between the series of simple vowels and those modulated by the catch, *a* and '*a*, etc., owing further to careless transcription and the errors of the press in our scant dictionary material we are left in some doubt from merely superficial examination whether any given syllable is *a* or '*a*. This subject has received especial attention in the author's Samoan lexicon with such assistance as may be derived from the comparative etymology of the Polynesian tongues. Discussion of the *ka* root should properly, therefore, wait the completion of that necessary preliminary work. One instance, however, there need be no hesitation in citing, namely '*a* the adversitive, "but." That the '*a* is really of the *ka* root is shown by its occurrence in other languages of the family as *ka*, e.g., the Tongan. The very nature of the adversative, is that it should indicate that that to which it is linked is non-ego and not-here but something external. In proportion as all that is non-ego is subject to doubt we need feel no surprise to find more or less of this uncertainty appearing in '*a* and leading to its second group of significations as a conditional paradeictic. The externality of *ka* is well presented in Mr. Tregear's definition of the word in his Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary in these terms: "an inceptive particle; it is used to denote one action changing to another or the commencement of another occurrence."

With this *ka* root we find ourselves involved with a group of demonstratives of such importance that we may well neglect the parallel occurrence of the root in attributive uses. We have seen in *ka* the adversitive, that which asserts that the yonder is not here, that it is peripheral to the ego, that it is on the rim of the wheel; and in this concept '*a* is the spoke that prevents the tire from coming in upon the hub, the "*non est*" ray of the symbol of the Aṭhanasian

creed. Let us now look at the root *ma*. In its paradeictic function we find it serving as a connective, it is the spoke that joins tire and hub into the effective unit of the wheel. It is the conjunction "and," yet its development is in a dual sense incomplete; it is available to connect words of the same grammatical function, it has not yet become sufficiently conjunctive to link clause with clause. At the same time another function, that which we know and employ as prepositional, exhibits in the sense of "with," "for" (for the sake of), thence differentiating to "from" and "on account of," these different uses we in analytic speech find it necessary to distinguish by varying words, to the Samoan it is sufficiently clear to use *ma* and trust to inference from existing conditions to elucidate the character of the relation the existence of which is thereby indicated. Stated in terms coordinate with those employed in the preceding particulars of this series of roots we may say of *ma* that it points to the non-ego and the not-here and links it to the central concept of that which is active and present.

With the *ma* root there are attributive words in which it would be no difficult task to trace out the basic signification; so with the next roots in the series, the *sa* and *la*. Yet in these, as in certain of the foregoing, when the demonstratives have sufficiently established the sense of the root we have regarded it as making for simplicity to omit discussion of attributive values in this conspectus, the methods of the inquiry among words of that class having been abundantly exhibited in the treatment of roots *ta*, *va* and *pa*.

In root *sa* as presented characteristically in the demonstrative and the paradeictic we find the following:—

<i>sa</i>	particle of imperfect and aorist tenses
<i>sa</i>	gentile particle before names of persons, signifying "the family of"
<i>sai</i>	anybody, everybody

The definitions are those of Pratt's vocabulary. Of course when we note that the verb has not yet segmented in the indefinite conglobation of the attributive part of speech, it will readily be seen that tenses cannot have yet arisen in general and certainly not in any such highly specialized degree as is indicated by the importation of aorist from the Greek grammar. Yet in a loose and highly inaccurate fashion it serves to point out one *sa* sense. As clearly as in the other roots of this group the reference is to the not-here, specializing into the time sense it points out the not-now. In the psychology of the lower intellectuality it is somewhat clear that the intelligence dichotomously distinguishes but two main points of time, the now

and the not-now, and savage man picks out of the not-now only the past for clear statement. To discern the future, to add to the now and the before-now the third concept of the after-now argues a degree of confidence in the permanence of existing conditions, a facility in deduction, a hope in the future that he is not warranted in holding. Thus in our Polynesian the only two well established time concepts are those of the present and of the past. That the future is as yet tied up in the present is shown in the fact that the form of words which expresses action in the present equally expresses action in the somewhat indefinite future. Nor the lower man alone; we may find ourselves retaining a form of this ignoring of time in such verb phrases as "Do you go?" and Shakespeare's "To-morrow is Saint Crispan," where the present in grammar is in logic a future. It is not difficult of comprehension, then, that we find the clearest statement of the not-now to relate to past time. We have already met with one statement of this past time in the root *na*. As between *sa* and *na* we may sense a certain distinction of particularity, the *na* referring to some more or less definite past time, the *sa* to unspecified past time in general. It will be interesting to bring into comparison, so far as applicable, the two feeble demonstratives which serve to express somewhat of our concept of the article, *le* definite, *se* indefinite. In the gentile use of *sa*, as in *sa-Malietoa* "the Malietoa family," we find no difficulty in observing the characteristic sense of the non-ego and the not-here combined with the indefinite signification which is sufficiently broad to cover all those who have the Malietoa name in their keeping, a form of expression which differs from our idea of bearing a name in a manner and to a degree which it requires a knowledge of Samoan social conditions to appreciate. The same indefinite demonstrative idea is found in *sai*, a general term for the peripheral community who are not the person speaking and not the person immediately spoken to.

Penultimate in this inquiry we reach the root *la*:—

<i>la</i>		there
<i>la</i>		particle of emphasis, "then"
<i>laitū</i>	(<i>itū</i> , side)	on the opposite side
<i>lelā</i>	(<i>le</i> , article)	that yonder

In this root we find a strong definition of the non-ego and the not-here in person, in place and in order of thought. In *lelā* we have the most particular demonstrative to express remoteness of position; *lenā tagata* is "that man" apart from you and me, *le tagata lelā* is "that man in particular over there" to whom in emphasis the gesture finger may be pointed, the most definite and positive statement of which the speech is capable. The same definition in senses

which we denominate adverbial, inheres in *la* "there" and in the emphatic "then" of logical sequence. Its value shows perhaps most conspicuously in the manner in which *laitū* is employed. If you are on the north coast of an island *laitū* means the south side, as far away as you can get and still be on the same land, a whole island between.

Now we shall sum up our notes upon this group of roots :—

- ✓TA the non-ego and the not-here reached by action outward, and probably downward.
- ✓VA refers to that which intervenes between the ego and the not-here.
- ✓GA gives a limit of the extent of the not-here, a reduction of its distance or degree.
- ✓PA the beginning in the ego of action in the direction of the not-here.
- ✓KA makes plain that the not-here is not the ego, but something external and therefore adversative.
- ✓MA joins the ego and the not-here with a link.
- ✓SA a general statement of the non-ego and the not-here.
- ✓NA a particular statement of the non-ego and the not-here.
- ✓LA a highly particularized statement of the non-ego and the not-here.

If we could master our problems of philology as we do those of algebra we should see a common factor in each member of this table. On the one side *a* is the greatest common divisor, on the other is that factor which we have uniformly traced to be that which is non-ego, not-here, not-now, three which are in essence one, the distal as contrasted with the proximal, the peripheral in contradistinction to the central. We should further see that as this consistent primary intonation of the voice was modulated by introductory closures of the organs of speech we obtained certain limitations or definitions of the peripheral sense of the primary vowel, and we might be led to regard the initial consonants as in some sort coefficients and to make to each one the provisional assignment of some germ of speech. Further to deal with this series of consonantal meanings as coefficients of this and other vowels, having the value of determinants of space and in such other senses as we may prove them to possess, would require us to pass in review the whole of Polynesian speech, the Samoan and its near kin and its more remote congeners in the island world. Within the limits of such an introductory paper as this it must suffice to say that the investigation has been pushed with uniformly confirmity results for the several phonetic elements of the Samoan, and that close comparative dissection of many groups of Polynesian roots is yielding wonderful results along the line just indicated.

Having cited the "Cratylus" it will be impossible to avoid the comparison with the childish linguistic guesses which Plato puts

into the mouth of Socrates the ρ of motion, the shaking, agitating, swelling ϕ , ψ , σ , ζ ; the binding resting δ and τ , the smooth and gliding λ .^{*} The results of many years investigation of Polynesian speech point more and more distinctly all the time to such possibilities as Plato seems dimly to have foreseen.

In this series of roots to which attention has been at such length directed we have accumulated one general sense, the non-ego under certain relations, the nature of such relations varying with the consonantal coefficient.

There yet remains to us to investigate the naked vowel *a* devoid of all coefficients, the primary and unmodulated sound of lungs and larynx regarded solely as a reed instrument of the type of soft walled resonator. To accord with the scheme which we have seen to develop in the examination of its modulated variants this *a* when absolute should express, so far as is possible for the human mind in any early plane of progress to conceive the abstract, the sense of the non-ego and the not-here and the not-now. We need not fear to assign the capacity of the abstract to a primitive people of so elemental a type as this Protosamoan. In that formative stage the object to which the name is to be applied is most narrowly concrete; none the less is it plain that the name that is applied to that object is a diffuse abstract, the expression of some quality which may serve to assist the identification made primarily by the indicative finger. Thus so general a statement as our *cru-kan* identifies the sweet singing bird and we find it in its *rossignol* shape serving for nightingale, song sparrow and mocking bird. "And He called their name Adam in the day when they were created," nothing could be more concrete than the one man of paradise, the one man of all the world, yet the Talmudic gloss shows the name to be so abstract a quality as redness.

* The passage is sufficiently prophetic to bear quoting:—*πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ῥῶ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ὥσπερ ὄργανον εἶναι πάσης τῆς κινήσεως, ἣν οὐδ' εἶπομεν διότι ἔχει τοῦτο τὸννομα. . . . Ὡσπερ γε διὰ τοῦ φῖ καὶ τοῦ ψῖ καὶ τοῦ σῖγμα καὶ τοῦ ζῖγμα, ὅτι πνευματώδη τὰ γράμματα, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μεμīmηνται αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζών. τῆς δ' αὖ τοῦ δέλτα συμπίεσεως καὶ τοῦ ταῦ καὶ ἀπερείσεως τῆς γλώττης τὴν δύναμιν χρήσιμον φαίνεται ἡγήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ δεσμοῦ καὶ τῆς στάσεως. ὅτι δ' ὀλισθάνει μάλιστα ἐν τῇ λάβδᾳ ἢ γλώττᾳ κατιδὼν, ἀφαμοίων ὀνόμασε τὰ τε λεῖα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὀλεσ ὀλισθάνειν καὶ τὸ λιπαρὸν καὶ τὸ κολλῶδες καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἢ δ' ὀλισθονούσης τῆς γλώττης ἀντιλαμβάνεται ἡ τοῦ γάμμα δύναμις, τὸ γλίσχρον ἀπεμνήσασθαι καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ γλοιῶδες. τοῦ δ' αὖ νῦ τὸ εἶσω αἰσθόμενος τῆς φωνῆς, τὸ ἐνδον καὶ τὸ ἐντὸς ὀνόμασεν, ὡς ἀφομοίων τοῖς γράμμασι τὰ ἔργα. Cratylus xxxvii.*

The naked *a* fills a large space in Samoan speech. A glance at a preliminary printing of the merest fragment of the dictionary of the language on which these studies are based, shows that the most concise statement of its uses more than fills a column of the average newspaper when set in the smallest type. From that long list these few characteristic specimens are taken :—

- a* plural alike of *la* and *sa* (compound article)
- a* a demonstrative member of verb phrases to form the so-called passive.
- a* "when," used relatively to the time of some principal statement.
- a* a sign of a definite future.
- a* the interrogative "what."

These are to be examined one by one for the extraction of such common factor as may be found to underlie their development into specific senses and modes of employment.

1. The plural *a*, plural alike of the definite *la* and the indefinite *sa*. At the outset we encounter an error of statement due entirely to the present necessity of expressing the syntax of monosyllabic speech in terms of the grammatical categories of inflected tongues. The Samoan has not fairly reached a distinction of singular and plural in formal grammatical statement; it uses a general statement as the name of an object, and it now has the machinery to particularise such general unconditional statement, and in certain instances to shade two degrees of such particulars—one definite, the other less definite, the distinction being accomplished through the coefficient value of the modulating consonant. In this instance we have accordingly :—

<i>a latou mea</i>	that (general)	they (that-three)	thing
<i>la latou mea</i>	that-definite-that	they	thing
<i>sa latou mea</i>	that-somewhat-definite-that	they	thing

Reduced by usage and with fusion of elements we find the English expression for *la latou mea* to be "their thing," for *sa latou mea* to be "one of their things"; thus having used up the restricted and the loose use of "one thing belonging to them," the residual general statement retains of its primitive universal application only so much as is not otherwise provided for—namely, more than one thing, that which we call the plural. Hence *a latou mea* is "their things," not because it is *in ipso* a plural but because the two particulars of its general meaning have been taken aside for individual statement. Several distinct lines of approach show that the Protosamoan lacked a distinctive statement of number. One such is the usage in phrases expressive of position, which must have crystallized before the so-called singular sign came into use, *i o'u luma*, *i o'u tua*, *i o'u luga*, before, behind, above me (at my front, back, on top), of which the *o'u* appears in other collocations as a plural to the singular *lo'u* and *so'u*,

first personal possessives singular of a definite and a loose character respectively. Another interesting testimony from the Protosamoan, before need had arisen to recognise distinction of number, has persisted in the traditional naming of Savea as the first of the Malietoas in the parting song of the vanquished Tongan, Talaa'ifei'i, as his fleet put off from that Samoan shore which his fighting race he pledged should never again visit in anger. This was the beginning of his lay:—

'ua malie toa !	Well done, fighter !
'ua malie tau !	Well done, fight !

Though destitute of the article *le* it was so distinctly singular and personal that the grim hero replied "there is my name, I am Malietoa"* and from that remote day to this the Malietoa name has been in the keeping of his gens.

This *a* of a *latou mea* is therefore a general demonstrative, that which is not the speaker nor the person spoken to but something outside of each, the non-ego and the not-here.

2. The Passive sign. In the former paper the explanation has been presented of how this verb phrase breaks apart into attributive and demonstrative. This demonstrative is the same as that immediately preceding, only through having come to occupy a dependent position as a composition member already started on the way toward becoming one of the empty roots of agglutination, one of the declensional terminations of inflected speech, it has lost some of its force of character.

3. Here we have the working equivalent of our relative "when":—

a 'e sopoia atu le vai, 'ou te 'ia te 'oe
When thou passest through the water I *will* be with thee.

Here again we encounter the peripheral signification which should have become by now so familiar. The "when" is a nicety of our English and the more highly developed grammar; to the Polynesian it is sufficient to say *a*, that-time, the not-now.

4. In the future sign we have the same not-now. That it now functions as a distinguishing mark of time yet to come is due to a cause of the same nature as that shown in the first *a* of this list, a process of particularization. We have already seen *na*, the definite,

*This name assumption is a common thing in Samoan history, and a preponderant portion of Samoan tradition is devoted to explanations of names after this sort. Of course such myths are aetiological, but the Samoan mind is particularly active in this direction. Of the same nature is the philological activity of Meisake in one of Dr. Stuebel's collection of tales in which that respectable old Samoan derives *tagata* (man) from *ta* (to strike) and *gata* (serpent), a derivation that could suggest itself only since the translation of the Bible into the vernacular.

and *sa*, the less definite, expressions of the before-now, that leaves to *a*, out of the general not-now sense, a residual of the after-now, namely the future.

5. In the interrogative *a* "what," we need go but little below the surface to discover once more the demonstrative not-this, the "that" of the surrounding circle. Questions were asked for ages before men learned to draw the crooked outline of the interrogation mark; the Samoan has not yet caught the trick of the rising inflection of the voice when he wants to know. Gesture is punctuation enough, provided the thing unknown be exactly indicated. That is what the demonstrative *a* is doing in Samoan, it gives the exact indication of that concerning which information is sought, it says "the thing which is not you nor I nor here, but that out yonder," namely the non-ego and the not-here.

Thus have we completed the cycle of the Samoan roots in this *a* and we have shown the greatest common divisor of the series to consist of the essential idea of the naked *a*. Roots of other series have been in this research worked out along parallel lines to a similar result. Even the closed roots, where sufficient have been identified to form a series, show that the same principle is operative. Is it, then, too much to claim for our Polynesian that it offers us something infinitely more primitive than the root in linguistics? Call it seed, if it be worth while to preserve the classic imagery of the stem and the root. The name is of no moment; it is momentous that the Polynesian is being made to yield to philology forms of speech so embryonic that by them we can place ourselves at a point where the near vision must yield us the view of a speech in the making, even if not the genesis of speech itself.

Within the due limits of such a paper as this, essentially a sketch and preliminary in its nature, it is impracticable to compass the proof of these matters. In this paper a few illustrations have been presented of one group of significations attaching to one of the primary vocalizations represented by the alphabetic *A* in one series of its possible types of modulation through consonantal coefficients, namely the *BA* type, leaving unreported the *AB* and the *BAB*. The proof must lie in a similar dissection of the Polynesian root in each of its types and for each one of its speech elements, vowel and consonantal. If it can be shown—and the research from which these scanty illustrations have been drawn has reached a point where it can be shown with ever growing confidence—that in this root reduction of Samoan we establish a few broad and fundamental senses for the primary vowels, and a few equally broad and equally

fundamental values for the consonantal modulants, even yet we shall have advanced but one step toward the proof. If it can be shown—and this research is well advanced in the showing—that these values of vowel element and consonantal modulant hold with great consistency throughout the language group to which we have assigned the designation Nuclear Polynesian, a second step is taken. If it can be shown—and of this the proof is coming into plainer and plainer sight—that these elemental values underlie the varying usages of the Polynesian tongues in their yet broader range, and that such changes as are found are properly assignable to normal growth from one and the same impulse yet under varying conditions of environment, then the proof will be well nigh complete. It is not too much to say that such completeness of proof is within the reach of philological investigation.

In these illustrations no attempt has been made, and the reason is solely the physical constriction of space, to extend the record of elemental sense of the consonantal modulant. In one view of the material upon which we are working that is a more simple task than that involving the primary vowels, which have to be picked out from a single alphabetic character holding basketwise several and diverse roots. Yet it has been impossible to avoid some statement of the persistency of the coefficient value of the consonant. The varying degree of precision in the definition indicated in the group *la* and *sa* appears in the parallel group *le* and *se* of the *e* root series. The indicated difference in polarity of the consonant modulant in the group *ka* and *ma* is readily traceable in other root series. Detailed consideration of these elements will naturally fall into line after the exhaustive analysis of the several vowel series and must await the detailed report on the subject now in hand. In such a prolegomenon as this, little can be done beyond the mere presentation of a selection of a few of the results already established, leaving the remainder of these results and the arguments upon which the proof of all is based to be presented in a less restricted publication.

Likewise no attempt has been made here to call attention to the laws of the progressive change of vowel and consonant which we recognise as existing within the Pacific area of these tongues of our study.

This latter offers very attractive possibilities. We have no difficulty in establishing (1) a law of vowel progress, (2) a law of consonant mutation, and (3) we feel justified in proposing a law of the conditioning of one of those changes upon the other. Thus our Polynesian Grimm's law will not be empiric, we shall have found for this group of tongues a principle underlying the progress in mutation.

With this fuller knowledge we shall be in a position to grasp the relation of the Melanesian languages to the Polynesian, possibly of the Micronesian to both; perhaps the Malay group will then fall more concordantly into association with the Polynesian or, just as likely, be definitely dissociated therefrom. Whatever that line of inquiry may result in this much at least is certain, we shall have acquired a familiarity with a new element in human speech more primordial than the root, at which philological study has so long halted.

As speech is the means of the expression of a thought which precedes the physical fact of utterance, we shall find the one conditioning the other, philology and psychology interacting in every earliest stage of speech development, to comprehension of which we may attain. The delver after philological origins must call upon the psychologist for a better understanding of the diffuse and nebulous word-meanings to which he is irresistibly led, and in the same measure these expressions of the most primitive concepts in turn prove instructive to the student of the psychology of the infancy of mankind. These researches into the Polynesian, therefore, may be expected to possess for the psychologist an interest second only to that which they have for the special student of speech.

Nor does this comprehend and limit the sphere of interest of these intimate researches. A small but proportionately enthusiastic group of students is diligently prosecuting the investigation of the great problems of the *fons et origo* of this island folk, and the ethnic relations of the several superficially distinct groups of the dwellers on the islands of the sea. The problem of the whence of the Maori has already filled volumes in the transactions of the learned societies of New Zealand and of the Commonwealth of Australia, and toward its solution is directed the undivided efforts of the Polynesian Society. That problem is the altogether sufficient task of the ethnologist. Such investigators may find in the Polynesian an Aryan people and in speech akin to us, as Fornander has aimed to prove; with Percy Smith they may find their best solution of the problem in assigning the Polynesians to the ancient Gangetic race; with Tregear they trace the trail of migration back through the defiles of the Hindu-Kush to that scene of so much parting of the peoples, the lofty plateau of Asia, the roof the world. Interesting though these deductions be, the philologist must refrain his feet from such paths, his task is large enough as it is. None the less his proper researches disclose to him the backward geography of the mysterious Hawaiki home and he cannot fail to contribute to the material at the disposition of the investigating student of this enormous sweep of migration, even as the results presented by the

ethnologist contribute to the assistance of the student of the languages.

As painfully, root by root and seed by seed, the philologist works out his knowledge of the fathers of the Polynesians in their infant estate there flash upon the memory the sayings of the son of Beor:—

For from the top of the rocks I see him,
And from the hills I behold him :
Lo, it is a people that dwell alone,
And shall not be reckoned among the nation.

And in a later one of his enthusiastic vaticinations he said :—

I see him, but not now :
I behold him, but not nigh.

Aptly does it prefigure the vision of the philologist as he works toward the origin of the speech of this race. It is not now, and he wants the pendulum to measure off the passing of the rearward ages; it is not nigh, and in his hand he finds no reed to mete the chasm of the wandering over seas. But on every root and on every seed he does behold some of the soil of ancestral Hawaiki. Piece by piece he patches together a motherland from which these far wanderers swarmed. Before we part from the subject let us also stand on the top of the rocks and see what we may see.

It is the old home in Hawaiki that opens to our view in the subliminal recollection of the scattered people, perhaps we have a vision of a yet greater Hawa home. It is a land so high that the air is chill and folk gather about the fire for comfort. It is a surface sloping toward the west and the setting sun. It is scored with gullies, sometimes dry channels of rock, anon booming bank high with the spate of torrential streams. The eastern prospect is bounded by a distant sierra, so remote that its outlines are but faintly shown by the rising sun, between the inhabited Hawa and this limiting sierra is some commonplace natural barrier which prevents the further advance of the people in that direction, the sea it may hardly be, perhaps it is the impassable drought of desert land where is no food or water. Other lines are added to the sketch of primeval Hawa, out of the dust of ancient Vavau collected from the roots and seeds the language preserves. Somewhere upon the map of the world, somewhere in the westward Puluotu direction from the Pacific islands a plateau land, sometimes swept by chill airs, sometimes baked under the glare of the sun—there will be the place to establish the ancient Hawa, a task for the ethnographer with all the assistance that philology can afford.

Philology will have its own great task in working out this dissection of root into seed. New life will be put into the science, and

students will gladly follow along the Polynesian path here indicated the way that will lead them past the ultimate point attainable in the Indo-European family, the Sanskrit root that has resisted reduction. Polynesian speech gives us the new point on which to stand in philological studies, and from this new point of view the near prospect is upon the practice of such simple sounds as are unartfully producible by the human vocal apparatus regarded as a wind instrument whose solfeggio is not yet determined, the trial of still simple combinations of such elemental sounds, and the discriminative selection of such sounds as are in concord for the use of human speech.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

[185] **Life of Te Rauparaha.**

We have received from Messrs. Whitcombe & Tombs, Ltd., Christchurch, a very useful reprint of W. T. L. Travers' "Life of Te Rauparaha"—first published in 1872 in the "Transactions of the N.Z. Institute," to which the publishers have added the Rev. J. W. Stack's "The Sacking of Kaiapohia." This volume, of 246 pages, will be found very useful for students; it is well printed in Whitcombe and Tombs' well-known style, and contains many illustrations of old Maori life and places connected with Te Rauparaha and Kaiapohia.—EDITOR.

[186] **Fanning Island.**

The report of the Corresponding Secretary of the Hawaiian Historical Society, for 1906, contains a very interesting communication from the President of the Society (our fellow member, Dr. W. D. Alexander, F.R.G.S.) which is as follows: "Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, who acted as counsel for Mr. James Bicknell in the law suit over the half of Fanning's Island, and won his case, afterwards bought Mr. Bicknell's interest in the same. While exploring his new estate, he unearthed the foundation of a stone building over one hundred feet in length,—I forget the exact figures. It was oriented exactly east and west. The corners were peculiar. Instead of fitting blocks together at the corners, one large stone at each angle was cut out like the letter L. Some of the stones would weigh ten tons apiece. The stone, of course, was coral or limestone.

"Not far from the building he discovered a tomb, which he opened and found various objects, which he brought with him on his way to England and showed to Mr. Brigham and myself. Besides some human bones, there was a *poi* pounder (of gypsum, I think) similar to the one in the Museum from the Pau-motu group, where stalactites of that material are found in caves, but more artistic; perforated porpoise teeth for ornaments, shell ornaments, and bones of a fowl and apparently those of a dog.

"When Fanning's Island was discovered a century ago, it was wholly uninhabited. The people now there are temporary residents, brought from Manihiki, to gather copra. You can see from the maps how isolated the island is. So there is another ocean mystery to be solved."

Fanning's Island is about 4° north of the equator, and in W. longitude 159°—about 1,250 miles nearly due south of Honolulu, and about 1,700 miles N.N.W. from Tahiti. We would suggest that the remains found there possibly date from the time of the old Polynesian voyagers, who in and about from the 12th to the 14th century were constantly sailing from Hawaii to the southern groups, as referred to in Fornander's "Polynesian Race," where some of the native names of these islands are given.—EDITOR.

[187] **The Pentalpha.**

In Vol. XI., p. 191, Note 154, attention was called to the existence of a Pentalpha design on a bowl, used in the game of *pua* at Atiu Island, of the Cook Group. In a little book called "Illustrated Notes on Manck's Antiquities," p. 57,

by Messrs. Kermode and Herdman, 1905, we find what appears to be a representation of the Pentalpha, at any rate in an incipient stage, on the bottom of an earthen urn found at Crouk Aust, Ramsey, Isle of Man, which the authors state to have been a funeral urn to contain the ashes of the dead after incineration, and dating from the Bronze Age. If this really is the Pentalpha, or the design from which it was evolved, it opens the door to speculation as to what was the connection between the ancient Polynesians and the people of the Bronze Age who inhabited the Isle of Man!—EDITOR.

[188] **The Plants of New Zealand..**

The above is the name of a delightful book by Messrs. Laing and Blackwell, just issued by Whitcombe and Tombs, Ltd., Christchurch, which is a credit to all concerned, the Authors, Publishers, Printers, and Illustrators. Should another edition be called for we trust the authors will take a little more trouble to spell the native names of plants more correctly, the *Arunda conspicua*, for instance, is *toetoe*, not *toitoe*. Where do the authors find authority for the statement on p. 226 to the effect that the *coriaria ruscifolia* derives its native name *tutu* "possibly from *tutu*, deep crimson (color of the fruit)"? On p. 81 the fruit of the *kiekie*, should be *ureure* or *teure*; *tawhara* is the name of the flower.—EDITOR.



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF COUNCIL.

THE Council met at Mr. W. Kerr's office, New Plymouth, on the 11th June, 1906.

Present: The President. Messrs. Wm. Kerr, M. Fraser, W. L. Newman, and J. H. Parker. Absent: W. H. Skinner, Hon. Sec. and Treas.

Correspondence was read, and the President reported that the deputation appointed to wait on the Board of Education had done so, and been received very courteously. The Board granted the request made to allow of the Society's library being placed in the new Technical School building on its completion.

The following new Members were elected:—

- 373 Mervyn James Stewart, Athenree, Auckland.
- 374 H. Hannon, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent, England.
- 375 C. W. Govett, New Plymouth.
- 376 Karl W. Hiersemann, Königsstrasse 3, Leipzig.

Papers received —

- 281 Maori Numeration, the Vigesimal System. E. Best.
- 282 Whakamomore. Col. W. E. Gudgeon.
- 283 Ruatapu, Celebrated Aitutaki and Maori Ancestor. Major J. T. Large.
- 284 Ancient Maori Poem. G. H. Davies and J. H. Pope.

It was agreed to exchange publications with the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.

The following list of Exchanges was read:—

- 1935-8 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. January to April, 1906.
- 1939 *University of California, Anthropology Department, History of*. 1905.
- 1940 *Morphology of the Hupa Language*. Vol. iii. University of California, 1905.
- 1941 *Register, University of California*. 1905.
- 1942 *Tetum-Hollandsche Woordenlijst*. Bataviaasch, Genootschap, 1906.
- 1943 *Het verhaal van den Gulzigaard*. Bataviaasch, Genootschap, 1906.
- 1944 *Tijdschrift, Indische Taal, Land-en Voldenkunde*. Bataviaasch, Genootschap, 1906. Deel xlviii., 3 and 4.
- 1945 *Two Examples of Symbolism*. Dr. Colley, March 1904.
- 1946 *The Japan Society*. Members, 1905-6.
- 1947 *The Japan Society Transactions*. Vol. vi., part 3, 1905.
- 1948-9 *The American Antiquary*. Vol. xxvii., 5 and 6, 1905.
- 1950 *Transactions, Dept. of Archeology*. University of Pennsylvania, Vol i., part 3.

- 1951-55 *Na Mata*. January to May, 1906.
 1956 *Le Bambou*. January, 1906.
 1957 *Proceedings, Cambridge Philosophical Society*. Vol. xiii., part 4.
 1958-9 *Pipiwaharaurua*. Nos. 90, 94.
 1960-62 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie*. January to March, 1906.
 1963-6 *The Geographical Journal*. January to April, 1906.
 1967 *La Géographie*. September, 1905.
 1968 *Archivio, l'Anthropologia, &c., Florence*. 1905.
 1969-70 *Bijdragen, Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde, Nederlandsch-Indie 'S-Gravenhage*. 1906.
 1971 *Ethnological Survey, Philippines, The Bontoc Igorot*. Vol. 1.
 1972 *Bureau, American Ethnology, Mexican and Central American Antiquities*. Bulletin 28.
 1973 *Journal, American Oriental Society*. Vol. xxvi.—2.
 1974 *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution*. 1904.
 1975 *Memoirs, Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Mat and Basket Weaving, &c.* Vol. ii.—1.
 1976 *Memoirs, Pauahi Bishop Museum, Old Hawaiian Carvings*. Vol. ii.—2.
 1977-81 *Memoirs de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona*. Vol. v., Nos. 14 to 18.
 1982 *Monthly Review*. Vol. i., No. 12. Wellington, 1889.
 1983 *Annual Report Australian Museum*. 1905.
 1984 *Boletin, Real Academia de Barcelona*. Vol. ii., No. 8.
 1985-88 *Mitteilungen, Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, in Wien*. Band. xxxv.—1 to 6.
 1989 *Annales, Faculté des Sciences de Marseille..* Tome xv.



HE WHAKAMARAMATANGA I ETAHI RITENGA MAORI O NEHERA.

NA MAJOR H. P. TU-NUI-A-RANGI I TUHITUHI.

KA whakamarama ahau i etehi korero o oku matua me okuti-puna,—a Te Oka-whare, a Piri-taha; ko o raua ingoa iriiri o enei kaumatua ko Paratene Te Oka-whare, ko Aporo Piri-taha. Tuatahi: Ko te whakamaramatanga o tenei kupu, “taumata.” Tuarua: Tetehi kupu whakamarama i te kupu nei, “toenga.”

Na! E toru nga taumata: 1. taumata okiokinga; 2. taumata matira; 3. taumata korero.

1. Ko te taumata okiokinga. Ki te haere te tangata, nga tangata ranei, te ope haere ranei, ka tae ki te hiwi, ka piki, a, ka eke ki te tihi ka okioki, ka whakaopeti kia pau katoa te ope, ka whakata i te manawa—ka huaina te ingoa o tera wahi he “taumata okiokinga.”

2. Ko te taumata matira—E whakanohohia tetahi tangata hei noho i runga i te taumata matira i nga ra katoa, hei matira ki te tangata haere, ki te ope taua ranei. Ki te kitea e taua tangata he tangata e haere ana mai, te ope taua ranei, ka pa te whakaoho ki te taupahi, ki te puni, ranei, ki te pa ranei. Koia tenei tana whakaoho. “He tangata!” Mehemea he tokorua, he tokotoru ranei, ka penei te karanga. “He tutira E! E!” Ki te mohio atu e te tangata matira he ope taua te tutira i kitea atu e ia, ka penei tana karanga, “E Koro ma! E Kui ma! Ko te whakaariki! Ko te whakaariki!”

Heoi, kua noho mohio te taupahi, te pa ranei; i konei kua eke te tohunga ki runga i te puke-whakapono, ki te karakia i te mata o nga rakau, o nga manuka, i te mata o nga huata me nga patu. I mua o te timatanga o nga karakia ka patai te tohunga, “Ka to nga whea?” Ka utua e te kai-matira, “Ka to nga turi!” Ka timata te karakia, a, ka mutu te upoko tuatahi ka patai ano te tohunga. “Ka to nga whea?” Ki te utua mai e te tangata matira, “Ka to nga uma!”

Kau timataria e te tohunga ko te "tohi," me te "wani." I te mutu-nga, kua piri tonu te taua, kua ara mai te mata o nga manuka me nga huata i roto i te "patua-wai": kua wero ki te tangata. Heoi enei whakamaramama, tera ano nga karakia kei nga pu-wananga.

3. Ko te taumata korero. He marae no te pa, he marae no nga korero, he marae no nga atua, he huihuinga no nga kai-whakatakoto tikanga—Aha koa he aha te korero ka hui ki runga ki te taumata korero, te korero mo Tu-mata-uenga, mo Marae-roa ranei. He nui nga whakamaramatanga mo enei putake. Otiia me whakamarama e au ki nga korero mo Te Ao-mata-rahi:—

TE AO-MATA-RAHI.

No Ngati-Rakai-nui—ara—no Ngati-Kahu-ngunu tenei tangata, a Te Ao-mata-rahi. Ka tae ki tetahi wa i te nohoanga i tona kainga i Turanga-nui-a-Rua ka whakahau a Te Ao-mata-rahi ki nga pu-korero koia tenei, "Apopo, hei runga tatou i te taumata korero!" I te ata, ka mea a Te Ao' ki tana wahine, ki a Kuharoa, "E Kui! me whai ake he kai ma matou ki runga ki te taumata. Ko taku toenga me tuku mai hei tami-waha ma matou ki runga ki te taumata." Ka mutu tana tohutohu ki tana wahine ka haere a Te Ao' ki runga ki te taumata korero. Kua hui mai ona hoa, nga pu-korero; ka timata te korero a Te Ao'. Ko tana korero, mo tona whare, mo "Mowaitakina, me Pare-umauma." Ka roa e korero ana ka mahara ake a Te Ao-mata-rahi ki te roa o te kai ma ratou, katahi ka kumea i tana korero kia roa; ma te kai e kokoti tana korero. Ka roa, ka riri te ngakau o Te Ao'; ka whakamutua tana korero. Ka haere ki te titiro i te take i roa ai te kai. Te taenga atu ki a Kuharoa ka whakatumaia atu a Kuharoa—ka penei tana kupu whakatuma, "Hi! He aha te take i roa ai he kai ma matou?" Ka mea mai a Kuharoa, "I muri i a koe nei, ka tukua iho e au to toenga, ka puta o wai wahine ka whakatoro ki roto i te patua. E rua, e rua ano nga paka, katahi ka kainga; riri rawa atu au kauaka te toenga, a Te Ao-mata-rahi hei kainga. Heoi, pouri, tonu iho au, na konei kaore tonu iho au i haere ki te kawae kai ma koutou, ka pau hoki te tami-waha ma koutou." Korero ana a Kuharoa me te tangi tonu mo te whakatuma a tana tane mona. Ka mea a Kuharoa. "No era wahine te he; ko ahau te utu mo ta raua mahi ki te kai i te toenga mau."

I te po, ka haere a Kuharoa ki te kainga i ona matua; ka riro i a ia ta raua tamaiti whangai, ko te ingoa aana ko Rua-kotare. Ko aana tamariki ake a raua ko Te Ao-mata-rahi ka mahue iho ki a Te Ao.' Ko nga ingoa o aua tamariki ko Rakai-paka, ko Hine-raukura te tuahine.

Heoi, ko tenei tangata ko Te Ao', e rua ana wahine, he tuakana tetahi he taina tetahi, ko Kuharoa raua ko Houmea-roa, moea katoatia e Te Ao' enei wahine.

Me whakamarama ake e au! No mua atu i te raruraru mo te toenga, kua pa ano he raruraru ki a Te Ao' ratou ko ana wahine. Ko "Te umu kohi po" te ingoa o tenei raruraru. I taua we e piri ana a Te Ao' ki a Kuharoa; ka hae a Houmea-roa ki tona hoa wahine, i te paka maoa o te hanu kai. Ka haere nga wahine nei ki te huke i te hanu, ka mutu, ka kohi i nga kai. Ko te kete kai ma Te Ao' i a Kuharoa, ka whaongia e Houmea-roa he ngarehu no te hanu ki roto ki taua kite kai me nga kohatu. Kaore a Kuharoa i te kite i te mahi a tona taina. Ka mutu ta raua mahi, ka haere nga wahine nei ki ro whare, ka tu te kete a Kuharoa ki te aroaro o Te Ao'; ka kai ia. No tetahi whakatoroanga ki roto i te kete kai, he kumara; no tetahi whakatoroanga he ngarehu; ka whatoro ano, he kohatu. Ka mahara a Te Ao', kua tinihangatia a ia e Kuharoa. A, no te moenga ka haere a Te Ao' ki te moenga o Houmea-roa.

Muri iho o tenei ka haere a Te Ao' ki nga tangata e mahi ana i nga rakau mo tona whare. I te ahiahi ka hoki mai ki tona whare; ka tau ki ro whare, ka haere atu a Houmea-roa ki te kawatu i te kete kai, ka tu ki te aroaro o Te Ao', ka rere atu a raua tamariki ko Kuharoa ki te kai ma raua—Ka riri atu a Houmea-roa, ka mea, "Koia kau nga tamariki nei, ko nga mea mo ta raua papa; ka rere ano nga tamariki nei ki te ohu, i te kai tonu nei raua." Ka mea atu te mea rahi o nga tamariki nei, "He parau oti e Pa! Ko te hinu i panipania nei ki o maua ngutu, ko nga paka i a ratou ko ona tamariki." Ka hinga a Te Ao' ki raro takoto ai, ka waiho i nga tamariki kia kai ana; me te whakaaroaro i roto i a ia nga kupu a nga tamariki nei.

Ka aranga i konei te ingoa o tenei raruraru ko "Nga ngutu panipani." No konei ka mahara a Te Ao' ki te umu kohi po i kai ai ia i te ngarehu. Kua marama i tona ngakau na Houmea-roa anake enei mahi, hei hanga kino i a Kuharoa, kia mahue ai a ia.

Ka hoki te aroha a Te Ao' ki ona tamariki, ki a Hine-rau-kura raua ko Rakai-paka. Ka mea a Te Ao' me tiki e ia tana wahine matamua, a Kuharoa, me whakahoki mai ki a ia. I taua wa ano ka rongo a Te Ao' kei te whakaoti te kahu a Hine-paeata. Ka tono a Te Ao' i ana tamariki ki te ki atu ki te wahine nona te kahu e whakaoti nei, ka mea atu ki ana tamariki, "Haere ki to korua koka ka ki atu kia tere te whakaoti i tana pa-whatuwhatu." Ka tae nga tamariki nei ki a Hine-paeata ka ki atu i te kupu a Te Ao', ka mea mai te wahine ra, "Ka pa hei kahu tiki i to korua hakui kia whakaoti rawa ake e au!" Ka hoki nga tamariki ka ki atu ki to raua papa,

"Kei te ki mai te ruahine ra, hei kahu tiki ra pea i to korua hakui?" Ka ki atu a Te Ao' "Haere, ki atu ki to korua hakui, 'Ae, hei kahu tiki i to maua hakui.'" Ka hoki nga tamariki ka ki atu ki te hakui ra penei me ta to raua papa i ki iho ki a raua. Heoi, ka oti te kahu nei ka riro mai i a Te Ao'.

Ka tae ki tona ra ka haere te ope a Te Ao'; i te ara e haere atu ana ka kite nga wahine o te pa, e tu ana te atua i te rangi—e tiwhana ana a Kahukura. Ka karanga nga wahine o te pa nei, "Te atua e tiwhana nei, ko mea ra hoki kei te ara e haere ana!" Ka rongo atu a Kuharoa, i te korero a nga wahine ra, ka karanga atu "E! Ko Rakahiri ki runga, ko Te Ao' ki raro!" Ka mea mai nga wahine ra, "E! Kei te hoki ou mahara ki a Te Ao-mata-rahi!" Ka mea atu a Kuharoa "Ehara! ko te ahuatanga o era wa e noho tahi ana maua i whakatauki noa ake nei."

Ka tae te ope o Te Ao' ki te kainga. Ko tona kuri he mea karakia atahu nei, a ka haere atu te kuri nei, ka tae ki te kainga tika tonu ki te whare o Kuharoa. Ka kitea mai e te wahine, ka mihi mai ia, ka mea. "E Ao! E Ao! haramai!" Ka powhiriwhiri te waero o te kuri ra, ka whakahakahaka haere atu, ka tae ki a Kuharoa. Ka hongiri te wahine ra ki te kuri. Ka riro i te kuri ra te ha o te waha o Kuharoa, whakatika iho ai, ka hoki ki tona rangatira, ki a Te Ao'. Ka whakaponotia te ha o te waha o Kuharoa ki te atua. Kihai i roa ka kitea te ope e haere mai ana; ka tata mai, ka mohiotia e te pa ko Te Ao-mata-rahi; ka pa te karanga a te tangata-whenua. Ka uru ki te whare ka tangi te iwi ra; na te turi tonu o te tangata i pana haere te wahine ra, a Kuharoa, kua tata tonu ki te taha o Te Ao'. Ka mutu te tangi a era, toe iho ko Kuharoa; e tangi ana, ka takahia te huka o te kahu o te wahine ra e Te Ao' ki raro ki tona waewae; ka mutu te tangi a te wahine ra, ka whakatika ka haere; kua maro tona kahu, ka titiro iho, ki te waewae o Te Ao' ka mea iho ki a ia, "E Ao e! i ra tahitia, i po tahitia; tenei ko tenei i tau-tahitia; kua kino au!" Ka ui ake a Te Ao', "Nawai koe?" Ka mea iho a Kuharoa, "Na ta taua whangai au, na Rua-kotare." Kua whakatohua te tamaiti a te wahine nei. "Hei aha? E taea hoki te aha?"

Heoi, ka moe a Kuharoa raua ko Te Ao-mata-rahi, a taea noatia te ra hei hokinga na Te Ao'. He poroporoaki te mahi a te tangata-whenua me te manuhiri. Katahi a Rua-kotare—te tangata nana te tamaiti e hapu ra i a Kuharoa—ka karanga mai ki a Te Ao', "E Ao e! Naumai haere. E puta taku tamaiti ki waho, titiro mai ki au e tu atu nei!" Ka titiro atu a Te Ao' e tu ana mai a Rua-Kotare i runga i te rua-kumara; ko tana mahi he tatara. Ka tu atu te ringa a Te Ao', ka kapo atu.

Katahi ka haere te ope a Te Ao', me tana wahine. me Kuharoa. Ka tae ki te kainga, a ka whanau te tamaiti a te wahine—te tamaiti i karanga mai e Rua-kotare. Ka tapaia te ingoa o te tamaiti ko Rua-tatara.

Me whakamarama ake nga whakahaerenga o te toenga-kai : Ki te huihui te ropu whakahaere korero, ki te taumata korero, ma nga wheeteke e kawe he kai ma nga pu korero ki te taumata korero ; ka kai ratou, ko nga toenga kai ka whakairia ki runga ki te whata kai. Ko taua whata, he rakau pekapeka, he mea ata titiro i te ngahere ; ka kitea te rakau e rite ana ka tapahia, ka whakairotia. Ka oti ka pani ki te kokowai, ka poua ki runga ki te taumata. Ko nga peka o taua rakau-whata kai, he mea ata whakarite nga peka ma ia tangata, ma ia tangata o ratou, o nga kai-korero. Ko nga toenga o a ratou kai ka whakairia ki taua whata.

I te mutunga o a ratou korero ka whakanoaia te marae o nga korero ki te atua ; ka hoki ia tangata ki tona whare, ma o ratou wheeteke e tiki o ratou toengo kai i roto i nga kete. Ki te pokanoa tetahi tangata, nga wheteke ranei, ki te kai, i aua toenga, ka tipu tera hei raruraru, ka mate te tangata te patu. Tenei ture mo te toenga kai, mau tonu ki o ratou whakatupuranga tae noa ki naianei. No reira tenei whakatauki. "Te toenga a Rakai-paka kaua hei kainga."

Heoi, ko nga whakapapa o Rua-tatara tenei ano : me nga whakapapa o Rakai-paka, o Hine-raukura. Koia tenei te ritenga o nga taumata kua oti nei te tuhi, me te ritenga o te toenga-kai, i riri nei a Te Ao-mata-rahi ki a Kuharoa.

Ko tetahi putake tenei o Te Ao-mata-rahi :—

Ko Tahu-makaka-nui
Ko Ira
Ko Ueroa
Ko Tawhito-tarere
Ko Rakai-nui
Ko Te Ao-mata-rahi = Kuharoa
1. Rakai-paka ; 2. Hine-rau-kura
Ko Rakai-rangi
Ko Te Ao-mata-rahi No. 2
Ko Te Popoki
Ko Kapo
Ko Tira-mehameha
Ko Hine-i-whakaruhia
Ko Major H. P. Tu-nui-a-rangi
Ko Maira

No Ngai-Tahu ki Te Wai-pounamu, me Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, he uri no Te Ao-mata-rahi raua ko Kuharoa.

NGA MAHI A TE POPOKI.

Me whakamarama ahau i nga korero o Te Popoki, tetahi o nga uri

mokopuna a Te Ao-mata-rahi. Koia tenei te whanau a te Popoki. I moe i a Te Whakahana, ka puta ki waho:—

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------------|
| 1. Te Eti (matamua) | 4. Kapo | 7. Tawhiti |
| 2. Te Unu-a-tahu | 5. Tono | 8. Hine-takutai |
| 3. Te Kohira | 6. Pahu | 9. Hine-rehe. |

Ko nga tamaraki enei a Te Popoki; ka karangatia to ratou ingoa hapu i konei, ko Ngati-Rakai-rangi. I timata i tenei whanau tenei ingoa hapu ko Rakai-rangi, he tipuna tonu ki a Te Popoki.

Koia tenei nga korero me nga whakatauki ona. I te wa e noho ana a ia i te hiwi o Maunga-rake, i te takiwa o Wai-rarapa, ka haere ia ki te tahere i nga rua-tahere, ko Te Ara-tataramoa te ingoa o te rakau; ko tona matua iwi, ko Paerangi-aio. I haere ai ia ki te mahi tahere, ki te mahi i nga ara kiore. No te hokinga ki te kainga ka kite ia i ona heuenga kua hinga atu ki mua i tona aroaro. Ka tae ki te kainga ka ui atu ki tana wahine, "E kui! Kowai i konei e haere ana?" Ka ki mai te wahine, "Ko Whainu! I konei i haere mai ma te ara pokapu ki Tu-purupuru pa." Ka mea atu a Te Popoki, "Ki te hoki mai a Whainu me ki atu kia kaere ia ma Nga-tarahanga, e wehi ana au i te heuenga whakahokihoki."

Ka aranga i konei tenei kupu hei whakatauki ma ona uri, "Te heuenga whakahokihoki a Te Popoki," i taua ra tae noa mai ki tenei ra. Kua iriiria e te minita o te Hahi o Ingarani hei ingoa mo tetahi o nga mokopuna wahine a Te Popoki, koia tenei: Ko Hera Te Heuenga.

I muri mai i tenei ka tae ki te wa e mahi ai te mahi tahere manu. I te ata tu ka haere nga tangata ki te tahere, ka noho a Te Popoki. Ka mea tana wahine, "E! ka whakahemo te tangata ki te tahere, ko koe anake e noho nei!" Ka mea atu a Te Popoki, "Waiho i kona haere ai i te ata mahinahina; akuanei te awatea te wa mahana takoto noa ai." Heoi tenei o ana kupu ka waiho iho hei whakatauki: "Te awatea a Te Popoki."

I muri mai o tenei ka haere ratou ko ana tamariki ki te tahere i Te Ara-tataramoa; ka kite a Te Popoki i te tangata ki runga i te rakau e tahere ana. Ka karanga ake ia, "Kowai tenei e tahere nei i runga i taku rakau?" Ka whakahokia iho, "Ko au! Ko Whainu." Katahi ka tonoa ake e Tono kia rere iho ki raro—ko Tono he tamaiti na Te Popoki. Ka mea a Te Popoki kua mate a Whainu, ka karanga ake ia, "Taheretia ou kaha." Kaihai a Whainu i kaha kua mate noa ake i te kitenga i tona pokanoa, me te karangatanga ake kia rere iho ki raro. Heoi ka hoki a Whainu ki tona kainga.

I muri iho ka whanau te tamaiti a tetahi wahine ko Tau-manuka te ingoa; ka tau aa te ingoa o te tamaiti nei, ko "Te Rere-rakau-o-Whainu;" kei te ora nga uri aana i tenei ra.

Heoi ena kupu. No tetahi takiwa ka haere mai te ope manuhiri o Te Akitu-o-te-rangi; i haere mai i te taha ki te moana, i tona pa, i Kakahi-makatea. E haere ana ia kia kite i ona whanaunga i roto o Rua-mahanga i Wai-rarapa. Ka tae tana ope ki te kainga o Te Popoki, ka karangatia ki te kainga, ka hoatu te kai, kotahi te papa-manu. Ka kai te ope nei, a ka mutu; ka ki mai a Te Akitu, "Ina te toenga o te papa-manu nei; ka hoki mai ano au ma konei, ki taku kianga." Ka mutu ana kupu ka haere tonu te ope.

I muri atu o te horinga a te ope, ka ki, atu a Te Popoki ki ana tamariki, "E waiho ana te toenga nei kia hoki rawa mai ai, kua whakakitea ki te manu. Te whanau E! E kore au e tau hei tiaki toenga kai ma te tangata. E te whanau! Kainga!" Katahi ka kainga ka pau.

A i muri, ka ki atu a Te Popoki, "Te whanau! Whakatika! Haere tatou!" Katahi ratou ka haere, a ka kite a Te Popoki i te rakau maroke, ka tahuna ki te ahi. A, ka haere, ka roa e haere ana, ka kite i tetahi rakau maroke ano; ka tahuna hoki; ka mutu, noho rawa atu i to ratou pahi, i Te Hae-a-te-atua.

Heoi, no te hokinga mai o te ope o Te Akitu, e mau tonu ana ona mahara ki tona toenga kai; ka peka ki taua kainga o Te Popoki. Te taenga atu, kua kore he tangata. Katahi ka tirohia te kainga ahi, kua mataotao noa atu te pungarehu. Katahi ka titiro ki waho o te pa, ki te whenua e anau noa ana; a ka kite ratou e pupu ake ana mai te auahi; ka karanga te tangata, "Ina te ahi e ka mai ra!" Ka ki a Te Akitu, "A! kei reira nga tangata. Hoatu tatou!" No te taenga atu, ara! Kei runga i te rakau e ka ana. Katahi ka tiroiro ano nga tangata ra, a, ka kitea te auahi e pupu ake ana. Ka mea ano a Te Akitu, "Hoatu tatou ki te ahi na, kei reira nga tangata!" No te taenga atu, ara! He ahi rakau! Katahi a Te Akitu ka mahara, E! Kua raru ratou ko tana ope. Ka mea atu ki a ratou, "Hoatu! Ka haere tatou, kua raru tatou." A ka haere te ope nei, ka hoki atu ki to ratou kainga. No konei tenei whakatauki—"E kore au e tau hei tiaki toenga a te tangata," a tae iho ki ona uri, e penei tonu ana i tenei ra.

Heoi ena kupu. Ka tae ki tetahi wa, ka haere a Te Popoki ki O-koura—kei te takiwa tenei whenua ki te ngutuawa o Wai-rarapa moana. Ko tetahi tera o nga whenua o Rakai-rangi; he mea hoko e ia ki te waka, ko "Whakaea-nga-rangi" te ingoa, i riro taua waka i a Te Rerewa (no Rangi-tane). Ka roa a Te Popoki ratou ko tona whanau e noho ana, ka tae ki tetahi wa, ka tutaki hua-nui a Te Whati ki tetahi wahine, ko Hine-takutai, he tuahine no Tono. Katahi a Te Whati ka whakatuma atu ki a ia, No te hokinga o te wahine nei ki

te kainga ka korero atu ki nga tangata te whakatumanga a Te Whati i a ia. Ka ronga o Tono ka ki iho ia, "Na te mea he wahine i puta ai te kupu whakatuma; tena kia hangai ki a maua whakatane, nohea e puta." I tetahi ra i muri iho ka tutaki a Tono ki a te Whati: ka mea atu a Tono, "He aha koe i whakatuma ai ki te wahine? Ina au te tane hei whakatumanga mau! Kia rite he tane he tane." Katahi ka whiua a Tono tana taiaha ki a Te Whati: ka taka te heru-tu-rae a te tangata ra. Heoi ka hoki a Tono ki te kainga

Heoi, ka rongo a Rakai-whakairi ka mea ia kia whawhaitia a Te Popoki, ara, a Ngati-Rakai-rangi. Ka tae mai te rongo o tenei korero ki a Ngati-Rakai-rangi, ka hangaia te pahuri (tetahi ingoa, he taiaha, ara he pa, otira ona maioro he rakau mea whakahinga kia kore ai e puta te tangata) Ka oti ka nohohia taua pahuri e Te Popoki ratou ko ana tamariki. A, ka kitea atu te taua e haere ana mai, kapi tonu te whenua. Ka whakaritea e Te Popoki kia tokowha o ana tamariki hei te kuwaha nga mata o nga huata, kia tokotoru nei hei whare-mo-te-riri: ko ia, ko Te Popoki hei taumata mo te atua.

Kaore i roa kua piri te taua ki to ratou pahuri. Kawe noa kawe noa te taua kia uru ki roto, a ngenge noa iho. A katahi ka houhia ki te rongo. Ka mutu te whawhai, ka karanga mai a Te Hiha i waho o te pa, "E Ta! E Te Popoki, E kore koe e ako i to whanau!" Ka utua e Te Popoki, "E kore e rongo! He whanau tane!"

Ka aranga i konei tenei kupu hei whakatauki ma ona uri, "Te whanau a Te Popoki." Kua iriirihia e te *miniti* ki te tamaiti a Piripi Te Maari hei ingoa mo tana tamiti, koia tenei: Ko te whanau tane a Piripi.

Naku ia, na Tu-nui-a-rangi i tapaa enei kupu a Te Popoki ki aku iramutu, ki a Hera Te Heuenga (he tamaiti wahine kua moe tane, kua whanau nga uri), ko Te Whanau-tane (kua moe wahine, kua mate te tamaiti).

Ko te take i tuhia ai enei kupu hei whakamaramatanga i te tuturutanga o enei kupu katoa, i heke mai nei, i a Te Ao-mata-rahi, tae noa ki enei o ana mokopuna. ki a matou ko aku tuakana me aku taina—hui katoa matou me a matou mokopuna, kotahi rau.

AN EXPLANATION OF CERTAIN MAORI
CUSTOMS OF OLD, ETC.

BY MAJOR H. P. TU-NUI-A-RANGI.

TRANSLATED BY S. PERCY SMITH.

I PROPOSE to explain certain matters related by my fathers and ancestors, by Te Oka-whare and Piri-taha more especially: First, the explanation of the word "*taumata*." Second, illustrations of the word "*toenga*."

Now! There are three different kinds of "*taumata*": first, the "*taumata okiokinga*" (or resting place): second, "*taumata matira*" (or lookout place); third, the "*taumata-korero*" (or place of consultation).

1. The resting place. If a man or men or a company travel, when they come to a ridge they climb up and on the top they rest until all the party are assembled to regain their breath, such a place is a *taumata-okiokinga*, or resting place.

[*Taumata*, means the brow of a hill, and in such places along the old Maori tracks, the bush was often cleared to allow of an extensive view, which the Maori much appreciates.]

2. The *taumata-matira*, or lookout place. It was the custom to station a man on a prominent point every day to watch (and give notice of) the approach of any traveller or war-party. If any such were perceived, the alarm was given to the *taupahi*, or place of assembly of the chiefs, or to the camp or the *pa*. This was the form of alarm: "A man!" or in the case of more than one, "A party!" If the sentinel saw that it was a war-party he would cry out, "O sirs! O women! the army! the army!"

By this latter cry, the assemblage of chiefs, or the *pa*, would understand, and the *tohunga* or priest would ascend the "incantation-hill" (altar) to incant the points of the weapons, the spears, long spears and the *patus*. Before commencing his *karakias* the *tohunga* would ask the sentinel, "Up to where?" (can they be seen), to which the reply might be, "Up to their knees!" Then would the incantation be commenced, and after the first part had been recited, the priest would again ask, "Up to where?" (can they be seen) the sentinel might reply "Up to their breasts"; when the priest would commence the *tohi* and the *wani* (he first over the warriors, the second a short *karakia* over the spears). By the time he had finished, the war-party would be close to and the points of the spears

would be withdrawn from the *patua-wai*, (or receptacle made of *totara* bark to hold water, in which the spear points were placed whilst the *wani* was said over them) and directed to the repulse of the enemy. The appropriate *karakias* are known to the learned men.

3. The *taumata-korero*, or place of council. This was (usually) within the *marae* or plaza of the *pa*, and was the *marae* of the gods, the place of assembly of those who directed affairs. Whatever might be the subject, it was here discussed; the questions relating to *Tu-mata-uenga* (god of war) or of *Marae-roa* (the god of peace and good works) were here considered. There are a great many things which might be said under this head, but it is best illustrated by the story of *Te Ao-mata-rahi*.

TE AO-MATA-RAHI.

[*Te Ao-mata-rahi* flourished 17 generations ago, or about the year 1475, and migrated, or was expelled, from *Turanga* (Poverty Bay) in the times of *Kahungunu*. He either accompanied the migration of *Raki-hiku-roa* or *Taraia* (see JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, Volume XIII., page 153), or preceded it by a few years.]

On a certain occasion, *Te Ao-mata-rahi* addressed the council of the tribe saying, "To-morrow we will assemble at the *taumata-korero*, or place of council." In the morning *Te Ao'* said to his wife *Kuharoa*, "O old woman! let some food follow us up to the *taumata-korero*. My *toenga* (or leavings) will do as a *tami-waha* (or relish) for the food." After these directions he proceeded up to the *taumata*, where were assembled his friends, the council, and then commenced his address to them. His speech was in reference to his (new) houses, named "*Mowai-takina*" and "*Pare-umauma*." He prolonged his speech to allow time for the food to arrive, but as it did not come, still further continued his subject so that he might be interrupted only by the arrival of the food. A long time elapsing *Te Ao'* began to feel annoyed, so ended his speech and went to seek the cause of the delay in bringing the food. When he reached his wife, he began reproaching her, thus: "Hi! What is the meaning of this delay in preparing the food?" Said *Kuharoa*, "After you left, I prepared your *toenga* (leavings), but some women came and inserted their hands in the dish, there were two of them, and only two *paka* (birds, etc., in the molten fat) both of which they ate; I was very angry that *Te Ao's toenga* should be eaten. So much was I grieved that I did not take you the food, as the relish had been eaten." Whilst *Kuharoa* spoke she was crying on account of her husband's reproaches, she added, "The fault is of those women, but I receive the blame for their eating thy relish."

In the following night Kuharoa left for the home of her parents, taking with her their foster-child Rua-kotare. But her children by Te Ao' she left with him; their names were Rakai-paka, the brother, and Hine-rau-kura the sister.

Now, this man Te Ao' had two wives, elder and younger sisters, Kuha-roa and Houmea-roa.

I will explain: Previous to the trouble about the *toenga*, there had been dissention between Te Ao' and his wives. This occurrence was named "Te-umu-kohi-po" (or food gathered from the oven in the dark). At that period Te Ao' preferred Kuharoa, which made Houmea-roa jealous of her co-wife, on account also of some cooked *paka* in the oven. On one occasion both women went to uncover the oven, and then gather the food into baskets. The basket for Te Ao' was Kuharoa's business; but Houmea-roa inserted in it some ashes and stones from the oven, unseen by Kuharoa. They then took the food to the house, and Kuharoa placed her basket before Te Ao'; on taking out some food, it was *kumara*, then charcoal, then stones. Te Ao' came to the conclusion that Kuharoa was insulting him, so that night went to the sleeping place of Houmea-roa.

After the above (the *toenga* incident) Te Ao' went forth to see his workmen engaged on the material for his houses. In the evening he returned to his home and then Houmea-roa brought in his evening meal. When the basket was placed before him, his two children by Kuharoa came up for some of the food. At this Houmea-roa was angry, "Yes indeed! these children want the food prepared for their father; they have already taken food with the company of workers, they have already had their meal." The eldest child said indignantly, "It is a lie, O Father! nothing but fat was smeared on our lips, whilst she and her children ate the *paka*!" Te Ao' laid himself down, leaving his children to eat his food, and thought over the words of the children.

This incident is called *nga ngutu panipani*, (the smeared lips). It was through that that Te Ao' remembered "the oven gathered in the dark" incident, and now felt clear that these evil works were due by Houmea-roa alone and had been done to spite Kuharoa and make him leave her.

So now the love of Te Ao' returned to his children (by Kuharoa) to Hine-rau-kura and Rakai-paka, and he concluded that he would go and fetch his first wife, Kuharoa, and bring her back to him. At that time Te Ao' heard that a woman named Hine-paeata was on the point of completing a fine mat. (With the idea of obtaining this mat and making it a peace offering to his runaway wife) he sent his children with a message to the woman who was making the mat,

saying, "Go to your old relative, and tell her to hasten the completion of her weaving." The children went and delivered the message to Hine-paeata who replied, "If it is a mat with which to fetch back the mother of you two, it shall be completed at once." The children returned, and said, "The old woman says, 'probably it is a mat to fetch back the mother of you two?'" Te Ao' replied, "Return, and say to your old relative, 'Yes, it is a mat to bring back our mother.'" After delivering this message the mat was quickly finished and delivered to Te Ao'.

When the time came, the company of Te Ao started on their way; as they went along some of the women of the *pa* (to which they were going) saw the god of the sky standing—Kahukura (the rainbow) was striding over the country. The women called out, "There is the god striding there, some one is coming along the road." Kuharoa hearing them said, "Ah! If Rakahiri* is above, Te Ao' is below!" Said the women, "Ah! are your thoughts beginning to return to Te Ao-mata-rahi?" "Not so," said Kuharoa, "it is a memory of the days when we dwelt together, that gave rise to the saying!"

And now Te Ao' and his party approached the *pa*. He had repeated the *karakia-atahu* (charm to cause love) over his dog and sent him on ahead; and when the dog reached the *pa*, he went straight to Kuharoa's house. When she saw it, she greeted it, saying, "O Ao! O Ao! welcome!" The dog wagging his tail crept up to Kuharoa, who rubbed noses with it. As soon as the dog had felt the breath of Kuharoa, he arose and went straight back to his master, who said incantations to the god over the breath of the woman.

Directly after, the company was seen by the *pa*, and as it drew near, it was known to be Te Ao-mata-rahi; and the welcome of the people was shouted forth. When all had gathered into the house the usual *tangi* commenced, and it was due to gentle pursuation by the knees of the people that Kuharoa came close to Te Ao'. After his *tangi* with the others, came the turn of Kuharoa; whilst they were crying, Te Ao' put his foot on the rim of her garment, so that when they had ended and she stood up to go she felt her garment caught. Looking down she saw Te Ao's foot, and said, "O Ao! (once we parted for) a day or a night; now it is a year! I am defiled." Te Ao' asked her, "By whom?" Kuharoa replied, "By he whom we fostered, by Rua-kotare!" Indeed the woman had by that time conceived. Said Te Ao', "What does it matter? what can be done?"

And so Kuharoa was taken back to wife by Te Ao-mata-rahi until the time of his departure. Then were farewells taken by the guests

* Rakahiri is another name for Kahu-kura, the rainbow god.

and the people of the place. Then Rua-kotare—the father of the unborn child of Kuharoa—called out to Te Ao', "O Ao! Farewell; if my child is born; look at me standing here!" Te Ao' looked, and saw Rua-kotare standing on the *kumara* store-pit, and engaged in arranging them in position (*tatara*); Te Ao' stood, and holding up his hand closed the fingers on to the palm (a sign of assent).

The party of Te Ao' with Kuharoa now went on to the former's home. After a time Kuharoa's child was born—which had been referred to by Rua-kotare; and the name given to it was Rua-tatara, in commemoration of the event related above.

I will explain about the *toenga-kai* (or leavings of food): when the company of chiefs assemble in council at the *taumata-korero*, after they have eaten, the leavings are hung up on a *whata*, or stage. This stage is a tree with branches, which has been carefully sought in the forest, and when a suitable one has been found it is felled, and carved, painted with *kokowai* (hæmatite), and erected at the *taumata-korero*. The branches of the tree are allocated to the different members of the council, and on these branches are hung the *toenga*, or leavings, of each one.

On the conclusion of their deliberations, the *marae* or place of meeting is made *noa*, i.e. the *tapu* is taken off by aid of the gods, and each man returns to his house, leaving the *wheeteke* or attendants to bring in the baskets of leavings. If any person, attendant or others, presumes to partake of these leavings, trouble immediately ensues, and the culprit would be killed. This law as to the *toenga* (leavings) has descended through the generations to the present time—hence is the saying, "*Te toenga o Rakai-paaka, kawa e kainga*" (the leavings of Rakai-paaka must not be eaten).

Now the genealogies of all the people mentioned have been preserved, but only one descent from Te Ao-mata-rahi is given below :—

22 Tahu-makaka-nui { (younger brother of Porou, ancestor
of Ngati-Porou of the East Cape)
21 Ira
20 Ueroa
19 Tawhito-tarere
18 Rakai-nui
17 Te Ao-mata-rahi = Kuharoa
|
├── 1 Rakai-paka
│ Rakai-rangi
│ Te Ao-mata-rahi No. 2
│ Te Popoki
│ Kapo
│ Tira-mehameha
│ Hine-i-whakaruhia
│ Major H. P. Tu-nui-a-rangi
│ Maira
└── 2 Hine-rau-kura

The Ngai-Tahu tribe of the Middle Island and (many of) Ngati-Kahu-ngunu are the decendants of Te Ao' and Kuharoa.

NOTE.—This is a very short line from Tahu; the number of generations from the year 1900 deduced from the mean of a very great many lines are as indicated opposite the names. These fix the date of Te Ao's birth at about the year 1475.

THE DOINGS OF TE POPOKI.

I will now go on to recite the story of Te Popoki, one of the descendents of Te Ao-mata-rahi. The following are the children of Te Popoki and his wife Te Whakahana :—

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|------------------|
| 1. Te Eti (eldest). | 4. Kapo. | 7. Tawhiti. |
| 2. Te Unu-a-tahu. | 5. Tono. | 8. Hine-takutai. |
| 3. Te Kohira. | 6. Pahau. | 9. Hine-reke. |

These are the children of Te Popoki of the *hapu* Ngati-Rakai-rangi, which name was first used in his time; Rakai-rangi being his grandfather (who migrated to Southern Wai-rarapa about the year 1600. See JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, Volume XIII., page 159).

The following has reference to certain *whakatauki*, or sayings of Te Popoki. At the period when he was residing on the ridge at Maunga-rake, Wai-rarapa (close to Masterton) he went forth to set his snares at the *pua-tahere* (or bird-snaring trees) of Te Ara-tataramoa, on the ridge Pae-rangi-aio. He went forth to snare birds as also the native rat. On his way home he observed that the *heunga* (or opening up of the tall grass made by walking through it) had been directed in the way he was then going. On reaching home he asked his wife, "Old woman! Who has been along here?" The woman replied, "Whainu! he came this way as a direct route to Tupurupuru pa." Te Popoki then said "If Whainu returns tell him to go by way of Nga-tarahanga; I dread a *heunga whakahokihoki*," (or opening up of the grass, the leaves turned the reverse way. His dread was due to the fear of some stranger taking part of the grass touched by his feet to act as an *ohonga*, or object over which to utter incantations to cause him to be bewitched).

Hence arose the saying, descended to his offspring, "The reversed opening up of Te Popoki's tracks," from that day to this. A minister of the Church of England has baptised one of the female children, descendant of Te Popoki, by this name Hera Te Heunga, in memory of the above.

After the above incident, when the season came for snaring birds, the people went forth to the forest, whilst Te Popoki remained. His wife said to him, "Ah! All the men are gone to the forest; you

alone remain." Te Popoki replied, "Let them go in the grey morning; presently will be noon, the warmth to lie in." And from this comes the saying, "The noon of Te Popoki."

On another occasion he went with his children to snare birds at Te Ara-tataramoa; there he found a man up the tree, setting snares, "Who is that snaring in my tree?" said he. The answer came down, "It is I, Whainu!" Then Tono (Te Popoki's son) told him to come down; Te Popoki saw that Whainu was ashamed, so said "Place your snares," but Whainu could not; he was so overcome at finding his proceedings had been discovered—that with the command to come down—so he returned to his own home.

After this a woman named Tau-manuka had a child which was named "Te Rere-rakau-o-Whainu"—(Whainu's descent from the tree).

Enough of that. On a certain occasion there arrived at Te Popoki's village, a distinguished visitor named Te Akitu-o-te-rangi, who came from near the seashore, where was his *pa* named Kakahimakatea. (See JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, Volume XIII., page 126). He was on his way to see his relatives living at Rua-mahanga, Wai-rarapa, and when he reached Te Popoki's *pa*, he was welcomed, and food set before him, amongst which was a dish of preserved birds. After they had satisfied their hunger, Te Akitu said, "Behold the remainder of the dish of birds! I shall return for this on my way home." Soon after this the company proceeded on their way.

After the party had left, Te Popoki said to his family, "The *toenga* has been left until they return; that is plain from the birds. Children! It is not proper that I should be left to take care of food for anybody. O children! Eat it!" And so they ate the food that had been left.

After this Te Popoki said, "O family! Arise! Let us be off!" And so they left the village and travelled on till they come to a dead tree, which Te Popoki set fire to. Then on again for some distance where they found another dead tree; this was lighted also; and then they went on to one of their resting places (*pahi*, camp) named Te Hae-a-te-atua.

Enough, when the party of Te Akitu returned, he remembered his leavings, and turned off to the village of Te Popoki. On arrival, they found no one there. They searched the fire-places and found the ashes quite cold. Some of them looked out of the *pa* over the encircling lands, and there saw at a distance some smoke arising. A man called out, "Behold a fire burning over there!" Said Te Akitu, "A! The people will be there, let us be off after them." When they

got there, behold! the fire was burning up a tree. The men again searched about and discovered smoke arising far off, and again Te Akitu directed the party to make for it, where he felt sure of finding the people. When they reached the place, it was only a tree burning. Then Te Akitu began to think (something was wrong) and that they were in a fix (for want of food) and said, "Move on, let us begone, we are in a mess!" And then the party made off for their own distant home—hence is this saying, "I am not suitable as a food-protector for anybody"—which has come down to his descendants of the present day.

Those words are ended. On another occasion, Te Popoki went to O-koura, which is in that district near the outlet of Lake Wairarapa—it is one part of the lands of Rakai-rangi, who bought it from Te Rerewa (of Rangitane tribe) giving in exchange the canoe "Whakaea-nga-rangi" and others (as described, JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY Volume XIII, page 159 *et seq.*) After staying there some time, on a certain occasion a man named Te Whati, met on the road Hine-takutai, the sister of Tono and a daughter of Te Popoki's. He was insolent to her, and when she returned told the people of the insolence she had been subjected to. When Tono heard of this he said, "It was because it was a woman that these angry words were said; if we men had met, he would not have uttered such words." On a subsequent occasion Tono met Whati; and said to him, "Why did you insult a woman? Here am I a man for you to be angry with, it should be man to man!" With that he made a blow at Te Whati, and knocked off the plume above his forehead. Tono then returned home.

When Rakai-whakairi heard of this, he decided to fight Te Popoki, that is, Ngati-Rakai-rangi. When the latter tribe heard of this intention they proceeded to build a *pa-huri* (or *taiaha*, which is an enclosure made by felling trees on top of one another so that no one can get through), when the *pa-huri* was completed the people occupied it and awaited events. A war-party was seen approaching, they covered the land. Te Popoki arranged that four of his sons should guard the entrance with their long spears, and three should form the *whare-mo-te-riri*, or supports, whilst he himself proceeded to the *taumata* of the gods, (to say the incantations).

It was not long before the war-party closed on to the *pa-huri*. They strove, and strove to enter, until they were exhausted. And then (finding they could not succeed) a truce was made. After this Te Hiha, who was outside the *pa*, called out, "O Sir! O Te Popoki! Why don't you instruct (reprove) your family?" To which Te Popoki replied, "They will not listen! They are a family of sons!"

And hence arose this saying applied to his descendants, "The family of Te Popoki!" which name has been given in baptism to the

child of Piripi-te-Maari, thus ; "The male family of Piripi."

It was I, Tu-nui-a-rangi who gave these names to my nephews and nieces, Hera Te Heunga and Te Whanau-tane.

The reason why the above has been written, is to record all these sayings of Te Ao-mata-rahi and Te Popoki, which have come down to their descendants, to me and my elder and younger brothers—who number one hundred (descendants of the ancestors named).

RAI-KAU-MOANA'S FLIGHT.

In connection with the occupation of Lower Wai-rarapa by the Ngati-Rakai-rangi—an event which occurred about 1625, as has been described, J.P.S., Vol. III, p. 159, *et seq* ;—a further incident in the troubles that arose between these people and the original Rangi-tane tribe, which has lately come to my knowledge and which, as illustrating old Maori beliefs, may here be told. On page 161 of the volume quoted, it is stated, "Rakai-rangi (one of the immigrant chiefs), together with others, raised a *tau*a and proceeded to attack the Rangi-tane *pas*. They took one named Okahu, but the Rangi-tane chief named Rakai-moana (read Rai-kau-moana as correct) escaped and fled. When he reached Pari-nui-a-Kuaka he made a shade of *manuka* branches for his eyes, and looking back beheld his *pa* being consumed with fire—hence is this ridge named "Uhi-manuka (Tea-tree-shade)." Now it is as to Rai-kau-moana's further adventures this note refers.

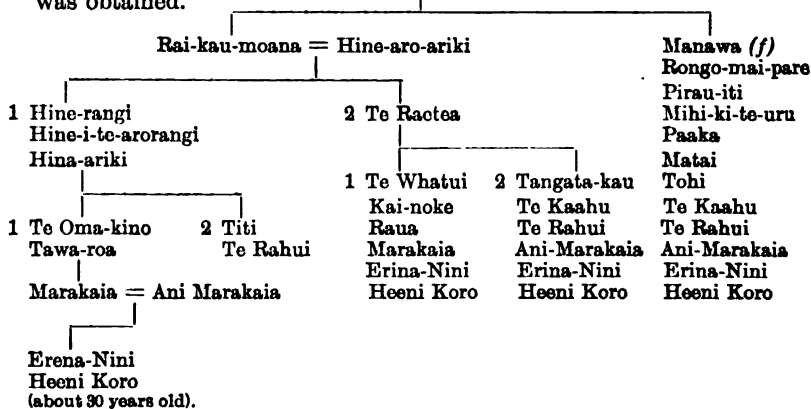
It appears there had been a difference of opinion between Rai-kau-moana and his people, as to whether they should hold the *pa* at Okahu or flee. His god Rongo-mai on being applied to, advised the latter course, but the younger chiefs decided to defend the place, saying they "desired to wash their throats in their own streams, rather than in strange ones." And so the *pa* fell.

Rai-kau-moana being a man equipped with all the *mana* and knowledge of the ancient Maori priesthood, and finding himself after the destruction of his village, homeless and a wanderer, in constant danger from predatory parties of Ngati-Rakai-rangi, appealed to his god to assist him to get away from the district. The name of his particular god was Rongo-mai, and he responded nobly to the petition of his disciple—descending at the place where Rai' was—not far from Gladstone—he told him to mount on his shoulders, and as soon as Rai' had complied with this command, away went the *atua* with Rai' on his back, soaring through the air, and making a course northwards. Presently they reached a place named Rua-kaeaea, where the god began to wriggle—perhaps the weight of his burden began to tell—hence has this place received the name "Te-Keunga-o-te-atua-o-Rai-kau-moana." After a rest here the god proceeded on his way north, but again felt the necessity for a rest, so lighted at Kopua-ranga—a river flowing a little to the north-east of

Masterton—at the mouth of the Manga-pa-kihi stream. Here the *atua* spread himself out on the ground to rest, and hence is that place called “Nga-tahora-o-te-atua-o-Rai-kau-moana.” Again starting they continued on their northerly course, until they arrived at Whakatamatama, and it was here that Rai’ heard the trees conversing with one another, saying “*Pepe-tahi, pepe-rua, pepe-toru, pepe-wha, pepe-rima, pepe-ono, pepe-te-muimui, pepe-tua-te-naonao, pepe-tua-te-ngahuru, te marama i whanake*. (Pepe once, pepe twice, etc., up to pepe six, etc., etc., to pepe the tenth, the moon that rises). The trees that thus held this interesting conversation were the *mapou, poroporo-kaiwhiria, horopito*, and the *hinau*.

From here the *atua* again took up his burden and after a long flight descended and rested on the hill called “Pahi-atua,” near the present town of that name, and from which it takes its name. We thus see the origin of this name, which has often given rise to enquiries: *tau-pahi*, or *pahi*, a resting place, where chiefs and elders assemble to converse, *atua* a god, or, “The god’s resting place.”

But apparently Rai’ did not consider himself safe, even here, for the *atua* finally carried him on to a hill—the name of which is Rai-kapua—situated on the Oringi-wai-aruhe block just across the Manawa-tu river, due south from Tahora-iti, on the Wellington-Napier railway. Here Rai-kau-moana’s adventures end, but he left plenty of descendants, as the following table will show, as supplied by Heeni Koro, the owner of Pahi-atua hill, and who has presented that place to the Government to be preserved under the “Scenery Preservation Act, 1903.” It is also from Heeni the above story was obtained.



There is on the south side of Pahi-atua hill and between there and the Manga-tai-noko stream, amongst some picturesque rocks and vegetation, a cave called Te Ana-o-Rongomai, after the tribal god of Rai-kau-moana. It is about 25 yards deep and a couple of yards wide, and was the residence of the god Rongo-mai.



THE LORE OF THE *WHARE-KOHANGA*.

BY ELSDON BEST.

PART III.

TUATANGA TAMARIKI. THE TUA RITE.

THE main purpose of the performing of the *tua* rite is to lift the *tapu* from mother and child, such performance being known as *tuatanga tamariki*.

After the child is born, and the necessary offices performed, both mother and child remove to the *whare-kohanga*, and preparations are made for the *tuatanga*, i.e., food is collected, parties go out to hunt, fish and procure various food products of the tribal lands. The term *popoki* was applied to the sacred food prepared for this rite, as also for *hahunga tupapaku*, i.e., the exhuming of the bones of the dead. This *popoki* was the first food procured, be it fish, flesh, fowl or good red herring. It was looked upon as sacred to the gods, and was placed on a sacred place for them (*ka kawea ki mua,* ma te atua*).

When the child was about eight days old, the priest performed the *tua* rite over him at the *whare kohanga*, or nest house. The next day, or some days after, the mother bore her child to the *wai tapu*, or "sacred waters" in order that the *tohi* rite might be performed over it. Both the *tua* and *tohi*, in fact all religious rites, were performed either at dawn or in the evening—*koi haereere te kainga*—lest the people be abroad. At such a time all persons not taking part in such rites would remain in their houses until the performance was over. Should a person appear to be desirous of going out, someone would say: "*E noho! Koi takahia te karakia*," i.e., "Sit down! Lest you interfere with the invocations." For there is danger in being abroad at such a time, the person's spirit may be affected by the sacred and

**Mua*, when so used, always implies a sacred place, the antithesis of *muri*, a common, *noa*, polluted place, hence a cooking shed.

potent incantations, and hence its physical basis be in grave danger. Also for a *noa* person to approach *tapu* persons engaged in religious rites might be productive of serious results to the latter.

If you ask a learned native the meaning or object of the *tua* rite, he will say: "It is a *pure*, a *haakari*"—that is to say, it is to take off the *tapu* and is also the occasion of a ceremonial feast, such as accompanied most of the ancient rites among these people.

There were four different ovens (*umu*) of food prepared for this ceremonial feast of the *tuatanga*. They were as follows:—

1. The *tuakaha* (*umu tuakaha*). This is a small oven, and contains food for the officiating priest only.
2. The *potaka* (*umu potaka*). This oven contains food for the *arero whero* and the *ati a toa*, i.e., for the warriors, the fighting men of good birth.
3. The *ruahine* (*umu ruahine*). This is for the *wahine kai hau* (or *wahine kai rangi*), i.e., women who are employed in the performance of nearly all rites, to *whakanoa*, or make common, *tapu* persons, land, things; as also in rites performed in order to influence the weather, etc.
4. The *tukupara* (*umu tukupara*). This contains food for all the people not included in the above classes, be they men, women or children.

Such *hakari*, or feasts, as these, must not be looked upon as being simply ordinary food prepared in the usual manner, and eaten as an ordinary meal. They were actually ritual feasts, a part of, and pertaining to, religious ceremonies and usages. The food used was *tapu*, those who prepared it were under *tapu*, the ovens were *tapu*, the whole proceeding was a solemn ceremonial. Ordinary ovens, in which food was cooked, are termed *hangi*, or *hapi*, or *tonihinihi*, but ovens in which food is prepared for those ceremonial feasts are always known as *umu*; i.e., among the tribes of this district.

It must be borne in mind that the *tua* rite was not a baptism of the child, among the peoples of this district. It was not performed at the *wai tapu* (sacred waters) nor did that useful element enter into its ritual. It took place at the *whare kohanga*, or "nest-house." The sprinkling of the child with water occurred later on, when the *tohi* was performed over it.

Nor was the *tua* performed with the object of naming the child, although, as a matter of fact, a name was often given it at such a time, of which more anon. Be clear, the *tua* was to abolish the *tapu*, and to endow the child with health, vitality, vigour, bravery, industry, and to protect the sacred life principle so necessary to the preserva-

tion of human life, as evolved by the metaphysical mind of the ancient Maori.

It seems to have been the custom here to perform the *tua* over the first born only, they being *tapu*, not only from and before birth, but would remain so, the above rite merely removing the excess of *tapu* from the child, the excess which made it unapproachable. A similar rite to this *tua* was performed in order to take the *tapu* off a forest, so that the products thereof might be utilised.

Now we will have at the *tua*, that our child may be freed from the dread shadow of the *tapu*, and be seen of man :

About a week after the birth of the child, the priest prepares to perform the *tua*. This would be done at the "nest house," and in the presence of some of the child's relatives, and of course the parents. The priest, taking the child from the mother, and holding it in his arms, repeated the *karakia* (charm, invocation) termed a *tua*. There were two different forms of this ritual, one for male, and one for female children. The principal one recited over a male child was termed the *Tua o Tu*, i.e., the *tua* of Tu, god of war, male children being dedicated to the service of that red-eyed demon. This dedication of the child by the above meant that he would be *tapu* until he soiled his hands with human blood, when it would be taken off him. Another form was the *Tua o Rongo*, which was to endow the subject with energy, industry, etc., in the peaceful arts of cultivation, etc. Rongo being the patron deity of such pursuits, as also of peace and peacemaking.

Female children were dedicated, in like manner, to the various pursuits and labours pertaining to their sex, as the weaving of clothing, etc.

The following is a *tua* invocation repeated over a male child :—

"Korikori tama ki tua
Ka riri ki tua
Karo patu tama ki tua
Mau huata ki tua
Kia niwha tama ki tua
Mau taiaha tama ki tua, etc." *

"May this child be active through this *tua*,
May it be strenuous,
May it be apt in defence
And strong to bear the long spears
May it be fierce
And wield the *taiaha*
Through this *tua*."

* As the author has sent no translation of the following *karakias* we have made an attempt to give a transliteration of their apparent meaning. But they are very difficult to translate, and probably had to the priests of old different meanings to those here given. Even the old men still left alive cannot give the exact meaning intended to be expressed.—EDITOR.

In like manner, the priest would proceed to thus mention the various weapons used, and labours performed, by the old time Maori. After which he continued :—

“ Tena tua ka eke
Kai rungi kai tenei tamaiti
Ko tua o nga koromatua
Tena tua ka eke
Ko tua o nga pukenga
Tena tua ka eke
Ko tua o te putanga
Ki te whai ao
Ki te ao marama.”

Here is another *tua* invocation, as repeated over a male child :—

“ Tua kai te rangi tuatahi
Tua kai te rangi tuarua
Tua mai te whiwhia
Tua mai te rawea
Tua mai nga koromatua
Te whiwhia mai
Te rawea mai
Oi ! Tau e riri ai
Ko tu kai nuku
Ko tu kai rangi
Hopu nui, hopu roa
Kia whiwhia mai
Kia rawea mai
Ki te ika i te ati
Tamarahi, maku e hopu
Te ika i te ati.”

May this *tua* reach the first heaven,
May this *tua* reach the second heaven,
This *tua* from the “ possessed,”
This *tua* from the “ obtained ”
This *tua* from the ancients
Be possessed,
Be obtained,
So be it.
Those thou shall strive against
Are Tu-the-world-eater,
Are Tu-the-heaven-eater
To catch the great, the tall,
Be possessed, be obtained.
The first slain in battle
With the war-cry, “ I will catch
The first slain in battle.”

And again—

“ Tua kai te whiwhia
Kai te rawea
Kia tuputupu nunui e koe
Kia tuputupu roroa e koe
Kia hokai e koe

Kia niwha e koe
 Kia toto e koe
 Kia hi te pewa
 Kia tikoro nga karu
 Moe tu, moe rere, moe pepeke
 Hopukia kia mau
 Kia wehi e koe
 Kia whete e koe
 Kia toa e koe
 Kia tupu nui e koe
 Kia toa e koe
 Kia tere, kia horo
 Ki te hopu ika i te ati
 Tamarahi
 Kei a koe te ika i ati
 Ka mama ki uta, ka mama ki tai
 Ka mama ki nga tupuna
 Ka mama ki nga ruahine
 Ka mama ki nga taketake
 Ka mama ki te hau e tu nei
 Kia uaua, kia toa, kia maia
 Kia whete, kia hokai, kia tikoro
 Kia whete ki nga koromatua
 Oi whiwhia
 Oi Rawea."

The *tua* is possessed
 The *tua* is obtained
 That thou mayest grow in stature
 That thou mayest grow in height
 That thou may take big strides
 That thou may be fierce
 That thou may be blooded
 That thy eyes may show the whites
 That thy eyes may fiercely stare.
 That thou mayest sleep standing, flying or crouching,
 That thou mayest catch the enemy
 That thy eyes may gleam
 That thou mayest be brave
 That thou mayest grow great
 That thou mayest be brave
 Be fleet, be quick
 To catch the first fish in battle
 To utter thy war-cry.
 When thou catches thy victim
 And call on the inland and seaward gods,
 On the ancestors
 On the sacred priestess
 On the origins
 On the wind that blows
 To be muscular, brave, courageous.
 To be fierce eyed, high stepping, eyes gleaming
 Fierce eyed like the ancients
 To be it possessed
 To be it obtained.

The following are incomplete :—

“ Kai tuputupu nunui e koe
 Pu matai i uta ra
 Kia tuputupu nunui e koe
 Hapuku i te moana ra
 Kia tuputupu nunui e koe
 Tohora i te moana ra
 Kia tuputupu nunui e koe.”
 Etc., etc.

That thou mayest grow in stature
 Like the *matai* stump inland
 That thou mayest increase in growth
 Like the great *hapuku* of the sea
 That thou mayest increase in size
 Like the whale of the ocean.
 Etc., etc.

After which the *Tua o Tu* is recited :—

“ Kia hapai patu koe
 Kia mau patu koe
 Kia karo patu koe
 Kia mau toa koe
 Kia whiwhia koe
 Kia rawea koe
 Kia tangaengae koe
 Kia whete koe
 Kia ngawari koe
 Kia whiwhia ki te pehu o Tu
 Whiwhia, rawea
 Ka puta koe ki te whai ao
 Ki te ao maarama.”

That thou mayest the weapon uplift
 That thou mayest the weapon bear
 That thou mayest the weapons guard
 And be courageous
 And possessed
 And obtain the breath of life
 That thy eyes may gleam
 That thou be quick in action
 And possess the disposition (?) of Tu.
 Possess it, obtain it,
 And thou shalt come forth to the world of being
 To the world of light.

The following is also incomplete :—

“ Tu ki tupua
 Tu ki tawhito
 Tau e riri ai koe
 Ko runga, ko raro
 Tau e patu ai, e toa ai
 Ko te rangi nui e tu nei
 Ko te papa e takoto nei
 Tua kai te rangi tuatahi

Tua kai te rangi tuarua
 Mau ka toa
 Kia toa."

Carry thyself as those of old,
 As the ancients
 Those thou shalt war against
 Are all above, all below
 Those thou shalt kill
 Are the high heavens above,
 The earth that lies below
 Call on the first heaven
 Call on the second heaven
 And when thou fightest
 Be brave.

There is another item in connection with the *tua* rite to be mentioned, and that is the custom of slaying a person in order to give *mana* or prestige to the ceremony and invocations.

Human sacrifices were common in former times and were always for the purpose of imparting force, power, prestige, to certain functions of Maori life, such as the *tuatanga tamariki*, the tattooing, or ear piercing of young women of rank, the lifting of *tapu* from the 'sacred name' of a child, from a new house, canoe, or *pa* (fort), the installation of a young priest, etc. But always, in the former cases, the child or woman must be of good family. Even in such cases it was not always done.

The person sacrificed was sometimes a member of another tribe, and at others, a person of the same tribe was slain. In many cases an expedition would be made in order to slay a person of another tribe for the above purpose, and sometimes it was arranged, before starting, to slay a certain member of such tribe. They would then proceed straight to the home of such person, in order to carry out their purpose. Any tribe living in the state of vassalage to a stronger one, were ever liable to have their ranks depleted in this manner. Hence Ngati-Manawa were always looked upon as fair game by Tuhoe, whenever any important rite was toward.

Of course such acts frequently led to intertribal wars, and even to inter-*hapu*, or civil war, when a member of the same tribe was slain as a human sacrifice.

In the case of a sacrifice of a child, as in the *tua* rite, the father, grandfather, or uncle, would probably slay the hapless victim, with a battle axe. The body was cut up with flakes of obsidian, and cooked. The heart would be taken to the mother of the child who would put it to her lips but would not eat it. Were she to do so, the object of the sacrifice and rite would be frustrated. The body of the victim was eaten by the people.

The earliest case on record of an expedition to obtain a sacrifice for the *tuatanga* of a child, is that of Tawhaki of old, he who ascended to the sky regions. When his child, Ara-whita-i-te-rangi, was born, Tawhaki set forth to slay Tanga-roa (personification and origin of fish) and met with success, only *maroro* (flying-fish) escaping. It was after this episode that Tawhaki ascended to the heavens in search of a band of dogs* which dwelt in those regions, and where he encountered Tama-i-waho.

When Te Whare-kohuru, of Ngati-Pukeko, was born, Matua and Tai-mimiti of that tribe went to Te Whaiti in order to slay Tarewa-a-rua, as a human sacrifice for the *tuatanga* of the child. But Tarewa objected to the programme, and turned upon the twain with such effect that he slew, cooked and ate them. This led to a sort of triangular war, in which Ngati-Pukeko, Ngati-Manawa, Ngati-Whare and Tuhoe were engaged, the end being that the three former peoples were driven from Te Whaiti by Tuhoe.

NAMING OF THE CHILD.

In many, but not in all, cases, a child was given a *tapu* name (*ingoa tapu* or *ingoa whakaiti*)† as soon as it was born. This name was retained so long as the child was *tapu* and hence, was generally discarded at the time of the *tuatanga*, which took the *tapu* off the child, and then a new name (a *noa* or common name) was given it. In some cases, probably when the *Tua o Tu* had been recited over the child, the *tapu* name was retained for some time after the *tuatanga* and, when discarded, or made common (*whakanoatia*) a special ceremony had to be performed to effect or give force to the same. This rite would usually mean a human sacrifice, as in the case of the *tuatanga*. These *tapu* names were given to first-born children only. It also was not usual to perform the *tua* over any but first-born children. The law of primogeniture had much force in Maoriland.

Should the *tapu* name so given to a child chance to be, or to contain, a word in common use, then such word would have to be expunged from the vernacular for so long as the word was *tapu*, i.e., until it was discarded as a name for the child. Such a name must

* The "dogs" mentioned in these traditions of Tawhaki are a great mystery, we have no belief that they represented the canine specie, but something quite different. It is a matter that would well repay investigation in the traditions of Ancients—may be the tradition is an attenuated reference to the dogs of Cerberus of the old Greek myths.—EDITOR.

† Also known as *ingoa whakarare*.

be treated with the very greatest respect, to make use of the word in its usual sense (*i.e.*, to assign to it its ordinary meaning) was a serious offence, a great insult. The person who transgressed this rule would probably be slain, although he might be of the same people. For if the *tapu* name was so used, it would have a most disastrous effect upon the child, it would make it *noa*, and generally have a very polluting and dangerous effect. Hence it would also be a serious affront to the elders of the child.

For example: a child of the Tama-kai-moana clan of this district was assigned the *tapu* name of Matahi-nui-o-tau. Now, as *matahi* bears the same meaning as *kotahi* and is practically the same, neither of these words could be used by the people, hence the word *koteke* was coined and used to denote 'one,' until the *whakararetanga* or discarding of the *tapu* name, when, of course, the word became *noa* or common, and might be used again.

Another *tapu* name here was Rangi-whati-kino. In this case the word *whati* was not allowed to be used. If a person said, "*Whatiia nga kai*" (Pluck the food) such food would become *tapu* through the use of the word *whati*, and would have to be thrown away. No one could eat of it.

Hokoteke was the sacred name of another child who, later on, received the name of Te Hokotahi.

Te Ahihi-o-ruanuku was the *ingoa whakarare* of a child who was afterwards named Wai-puni. While under *tapu*, the word *ahiahi*, (evening) could not be used, and the term *maruke* took its place. Paora Kakaure went to Ohaua and slew a man (of the same tribe as the child, but a different clan, or sub-tribe) as a sacrifice to *whakanoa*, or lift the *tapu*, from the child, the name, and the word. This killing resulted in a war between the two tribal sections. This rite, sacrifice and renaming, took place after the *tua* was performed over the child.

All chiefs did not give their first-born an *ingoa whakaiti*. Te Umu-ariki named his son Te Whenua-nui, after the earth, which produces food. He said, "What do I care for these *tapu* names. I shall name my child after the land which produces food." Food, be it noted, is a very common and polluting article.

In like manner, one Mapere gave his son the *noa* or common name, 'Maunga-pohatu,' which is the name of a district which produces much food.

The second name, the *noa* or common name, would probably not be retained through life by the person, for it is a native custom to change one's name when anything unusual occurs. For instance, at the death of a relative, such changes of name frequently takes place.

And when Tuhoe built a house for Te Kooti at Te Whaiti, for religious purposes, many of them adopted new names.

It will be observed that, in the above account of the *tua* rite, that *popoki* has been given me as a term for sacred food used in the ceremony. But Mr. White translates it as 'placenta.' See his "Ancient History of the Maori," Vol. II. p. 11 (Maori) and p. 10 (English). We extract a portion of the article, as being of interest. "Tura, an old time voyager, had come upon a strange land, inhabited by a singular people who knew not the use of fire, ate their food raw, and whose children were brought into the world by means of the Cæsarian operation. Tura took a wife from these people, Te Aitanga-a-Nuku-mai-tore and, when her time came, showed her how to give birth to her child:—

Tura said to his wife, 'What are you doing?' She replied, 'The *ara* (flooding) of birth has commenced.' But Tura had prepared a house and had erected therein two poles, termed the *pou tama-tane* and *pou tama-wahine*, for his wife to grasp during her labour. Then Tura said to his wife, 'should you have a difficult birth, then repeat these words:—

" Kia kotahi ki a ao nui
Kia kotahi ki a ao roa
Kia kotahi ki a ao taurira,

"Then, if the child be not born, repeat:

" Kia kotahi ki a Tura."

"So the child was born and the *popoki* was taken to the sacred place and there deposited, the *pito* was severed, the *whenua* was buried, etc."

Now, if *popoki* — placenta, why repeat it in the term *whenua*. The above is said to have been the origin of birth, as we know it, in this world. It is one of those old world myths so common among primitive peoples.

The term *tua* is often met with in invocations, charms, rights, etc. *Tua-imu* is a charm repeated to weaken an enemy. *Tua i te rangi* means 'to influence the weather, by means of certain rights and incantations. The *tua-kaha* was a right performed over warriors in war time.

The name given a child is often replaced by another about the age of puberty, after which it may be changed several times during its owner's life. In Reville's "Native Religions of Mexico and Peru" we note the following:—" . . . We find in Peru something that closely resembles baptism. From fifteen to twenty days after birth, the child received its first name, after being plunged into water.

But this purification had nothing to do with the ideas of sin and regeneration. It was but a form of exorcism, destined to secure the child from the evil spirits and their malign influences. Between the ages of ten and twelve, the child's definitive name was conferred. On this occasion his hair and nails were cut off, and offered to the Sun, and the guardian spirits. This represented the consecration of his person, but its main object was to secure him the protection of the divine power."

THE TOHI RITE.

The *tohi* was yet another ceremony performed over a child, and one over which some confusion is liable to arise among those seeking a knowledge of native rites and customs, inasmuch as there were really two forms of the *tohi*, the one (*tohi tamariki*) being a rite performed over a child when the *pito* or navel string is removed; and the other (*tohi taua*) a ceremony gone through in order to endow a man with courage, energy, etc., in battle. The latter would be performed several, possibly many times, over a fighting man during his life. It might occur in childhood, and also whenever he was about to enter into a battle, or after a fight. The term *tohi* was also applied to rites performed in order to remove excessive *tapu*, and to preserve the subject when his sacred life principles were in danger, the latter being known as a *tohi ora*.

The term *tohi*, in the case of the *tohi tamariki*, may possibly have originated in the verb *tohi* = to cut, but in every case a *tohi* appears to imply "sprinkling with water," such an operation being a portion of the ritual in each of the above mentioned ceremonies.

In regard to the *tohi taua*, or war *tohi*, this was performed over warriors about to engage in battle, but another *tohi* was gone through after the fight, and this latter one appears to have lifted the extra amount of *tapu* from the fighting men, which is upon them while under the sway of Tu, the god of war. The *tohi taua* was, of course, performed over male children only, but the *tohi tamariki* was held over female children also.

The *tohi tamariki* was performed shortly after the *tua* rite, and always at the water side, *i.e.*, at the *wai tapu*, or "sacred waters," of the village community, some stream or pond being always set aside for these purposes.

The mother would carry her child to the water, and all the priests *arero whero*, *ati o toa* (see ante), and persons of knowledge attended the ceremony, *i.e.*, it was attended by all persons of importance in the village group. The chief priest would recite the invocations, the others chanting the responses. There were various invocations used

at this ceremony, in order to endow the child with courage, industry, eloquence, a clear mind, a good memory, cleverness, an affectionate disposition, etc. A child might be *tohi* for all or any of these qualities. A boy, for instance, might be *tohia* that he should make a good wood carver, or a girl that she might become an expert weaver, as well as for the general qualities of industry, etc.

In speaking of the old time ceremonies performed at the planting etc. of the *kumara*, a native said :—" After the proper rite has been gone through at the *maara tautane*, then the *tohi* is performed over the hills (earthed up tubers) of all the plantations."

Some interesting matter concerning the rites pertaining to birth may be found in Mr. White's " Lectures," as also in the " Te Ika a Maui."

While the *tohi* rite was being performed, the ovens would remain covered and be opened after the rite at the water side was finished. There would be several ovens, as already explained. The *umu whangai*,* which ' fed ' the *tapu* of the child, was partaken of by the *ruahine* or woman employed to take the *tapu* off. After this the persons taking part in the rite would be *noa* (free from *tapu*) and the child could be taken and nursed by the women.

These rites were remarkable for the small amount of clothing worn by the people who took part in them, the priest and subject, at such ceremonies, being naked, with the exception of a piece of flax tied round the waist, under which were stuck a few green branchlets.

The priest, taking the child from the mother into his arms, bore it into the water. In his hand he carried a small green branch of the *karamu* shrub, a species of *coprosma*. At the end of this wand (*tira*) the leaves were left on. Dipping this branch into the sacred water, he sprinkled drops of water therefrom over the child, and repeated the *tohi* invocation. The following is a portion of a *tohi* recited over a male child, ' it is a *tohi taua* ' :—

" Ka tohia koe tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake
Owhaowha tama i te wai o Tu-tawake
Kia riri tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake
Kia niwha tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake."
Etc., etc.

Thou art *tohi* boy ! with the water of Tu-tawake
The boy prattles in the waters of Tu-tawake
Let the boy strive with the waters of Tu-tawake
Let the boy be fierce with the Tu-tawake.
Etc., etc.

* The term *whangai* is used in connection with the ritual offering of food as to a god, etc.

Female children were *tohia* to Hine-kahau (but among most tribes to Hine-te-iwaiwa). The invocation began as follows :—

" I tohia koe hine ki te tohi o kahau
Ko te tohi ki uta, te tohi ki tai
Kia mau koe, E hine ! ki to kawē
Hai hirihiri mou
Ko wai ra to kawē ?
Ko te kawē o Tu "
Etc., etc.

Thou art *tohi*, girl ! with the *tohi* of Hine-kahau.
The *tohi* of inland, the *tohi* of the sea,
That thou mayest, O girl ! take up thy burden.
To cause you to be energetic.
Whose then is thy burden ?
'Tis the burden of Tu.

For further notes on the *tohi* rite, see this JOURNAL, Vol. XI., pp. 22 to 25.

The following is a portion of a *tohi* or *kawa*, as recited over a young warrior in war time, by the priest :—

" Kia mau patu koe ki a Tu
Kia whiwhia, kia rawea
Kia whangaia ki a mua ra
Ki te tuahu, ki te atua
Kia rawea, kia titiro
Kia karo patu
Kia mau ki te atu a Rongo,
A Tawhirimatea
Ka puta koe ki tua ra
Ki te whai ao
Ki te ao marama
Ora ki tupua,
Ka ora
Ora ki tawhito."

When Rangi-te-ao-rere visited his long-lost father at Rotorua, he was taken to the local *wai tapu* (sacred waters) by his parent who performed the *tohi* over him, sprinkling his nude body with the water, as described above. The following is a portion of that *tohi* :—

" Ko te tupe o Tu
Ko te tupe o Rongo
Heuea to kanohi
Kia hihiri, kia mataara
Uruuru o Tangaroa
Whatiia nga tai o Kupe
Kupe ai nuku, Kupe ai rangi
Kohakoha te ao rere
Te po kimihia, E tama !
Ki a Tu ka nihi, ki a Tu ka hara
Orooroa mai nga tai
Ka pupuke ki runga o Mokoia
Kia tu koe
Kia toa koe."

When the *tohi taua* was performed over a child, he was given a small fragment of stone to swallow, in order to "harden" him, as against the weapons of enemies in days to come, as also to harden his heart in battle, and make him strenuous in the service of the war-god.

We have seen that a father, or other elderly relative, might perform the *tohi* over his son. When Kahuki visited his grandfather Rua-pururu at the Kapo-whetu fort, near the present township of Tane-atua, the old man performed the *tohi* over Kahuki and thus lifted the *tapu* from him. In like manner, when Tawhaki the demi-god ascended the heavens to visit Whaitiri, and reclined upon the sacred pillow of that *tapu* being, he was *tohia* in order to free him from *tapu*, and enable him to partake of food.

The last case of the performance of the *tohi* rite, of which I am aware, occurred in 1898, when, seeing that much sickness was prevalent, and that many deaths had taken place, a worthy old friend of mine performed the *tohi ora* over his two sons, that they might retain life, and escape the snare of Hine-nui-te-Po, goddess of Hades.

It will thus be seen that the *tohi* is performed principally for three reasons: (1), as a dedication of a child to his, or her, life's work; (2), to strengthen and preserve a man in battle; (3), to protect the life principle.

The term *tangaengae* is often met with in connection with birth. In Williams' Maori Dictionary *tangaengae* = umbilical cord, but it seems to be used in other ways. It occurs in certain *tua* invocations or charms repeated over children as:

"Kia toa ai koe tangaengae
Ki te patu tangata tangaengae, etc."

See "Nga Moteatea" also for a *karakia tangaengae*.

One authority gives me the meaning of "vigour, spirit," for this word. In the Paumotuan tongue *tangaengae* = a sacrifice, and *puaka tangaengae* = victim. In Hawaiian *kanaenae* = a sacrifice. In Tahitian *aeae* = breathless, and *taeae* = gasping for breath. In Marquesan, *tangae* = gasping. See also this JOURNAL, Vol. VII. p. 181. Also "Te Ika-a-Maui," second edition, p. 186. In Moriori *ngaengae* = navel cord. Interesting matter anent the *tohi* of these Moriori may be found at p. 11 Vol. VI. of this JOURNAL, and at p. 15 is a *tangaengae* charm of the same people.

In Grey's "Maori Proverbs" p. 106, is the following:—"The following saying is applied to a person who, in eating, is not soon satisfied. '*He kuku tangaengae nui, he parera apu paru.*' Which he translates, 'A pigeon can bolt big lumps, and a duck gobbles up mud.'" But at p. 15 he gives "*He kuku tangai nui.*"

In Maori, or at least in this district, *ngaengae* (*naenae* in the Matatua dialect) means "panting, out of breath" (*Ka naenae toku manawa*). *Ta* is a causative prefix, and also = to breathe. Hence, in the charm repeated over a child at the *tuatanga*, *tangaengae* may be equivalent to *whakamanawa* — an imparting of, or endowing with, "the breath of life." The *whakamanawa* charm recited over a child, is as follows :—

" To manawa te hoto nuku
 To manawa te hotu rangi
 To manawa ko toku manawa.
 He manawa ka turuturua
 Ki tawhito o te rangi
 Te aua iho, te aua ake
 Oi . . . ko toku manawa."

THE KAWA ORA, TU ORA, TUAPA AND MAURI.

The *kawa* or *kawa ora* appears to be the name applied to that invocation of the *tohi* rite which was intended to protect the sacred life principle of the child, and to endow it with a clear mind, physical health, and such desirable attributes. The young tree, or branch planted at the time of the *tohi* ceremony by some Maori tribes (and by the Moriori), was termed a *kawa*. The term *kawa* is also used as though it were the name given to the life principle, as witness many explanations, given me by natives to explain the disappearance of their people before the invading white race. They state that the *kawa* of the Maori is *tapu*, and that it was polluted by the customs, practices, etc., of the European, who is *noa*—has no *tapu*. Hence the Maori commenced to deteriorate and die out so soon as he was brought into contact with the white people, and it is on account of the latter being *noa*, and having no *tapu*, that they thrive so.

The *tu ora* seems to have been another name for, or a variation of, the *kawa ora*. It was performed over a child at the *tuatanga*, or at any other time thought advisable. For instance, if parents have two or more children, of whom one or more die, they will have the *tu ora* performed over the survivors in order to preserve their health, vigour, etc. This *tu ora* was described to me by Tu-takanga-hau as: "*He uru ora, he whakawhiwhi i te hau ora, i nga toa i nga mahi, i nga mea katoa e tika ana ki te tamaiti*"—an endowing with health and the life principle, as also bravery, industry, and all other desirable qualities.

Tu also states that the *tu ora* was the same as the *tira ora* rite. When performing this, the priest formed two small mounds of earth, known as *Puke nui a papa* and *Tuahu a te rangi*, one representing the earth and the female principle, the other standing for the heavens

and the male principle. In the former he erected a pole or wand (*tira*), termed the *tira mate* (*tira*=wand, ray, company of people, and *mate*=death, evil, disaster, misfortune, sickness, etc.) and in the latter mound he inserted another termed the *tira ora*, or *tira* of life, health, etc. The *tira mate*, on the first mound represented death, sickness, misfortune, etc., which are ever associated with the female principle. The *tira ora* stood for life, health, prosperity, etc. The priest, when performing the rite, cast down the *tira mate*, as he repeated his invocations to avert all evil, and left the *tira ora* standing while invoking life, prosperity, etc. This singular rite was gone through at ceremonial feasts (*haakari*) and on other occasions in order to protect and preserve the health, prosperity, life, etc., of the members of the tribe.

Tuuapaa mauri. This *tuapa* appears to be a form of the *tira ora*. Tamarau, of Ngati-Koura, states that, when a child was born, a hewn pole, post or peg, was erected at the *tuuaahu* (or *tuaahu*), or sacred place, of the village, and that it was termed a *tuapa tamariki*. The object of it was to ward off all evil and trouble, misfortune, etc., from the child. It was, of course, endowed with the power to effect this by means of the rites and incantations, or invocations, of the priest. It was also a *tohi* to preserve the health, vigour and *mana* of the child. Should the child die, then the post would be cast down, and when the bones of that child were exhumed and taken to their final resting place, the post would be set up again. That is to say it would be erected as a *tira mate* or *tutira mate* (*tutira*=rank, row; *mate*=death, misfortune, etc.), it having been cast down, or abolished as a *tira ora*. But the same post or staff (*pou*) was used. When the child, if it lived, began to prattle, then the *tohi* was performed over it. This *pou* was, in fact, a *mauri* or talisman, which had absorbed, as it were, through the power of the ritual, the non-material semblance, or essence, of the life principle, health, vitality and desirable qualities of the child, and protected the same from harm, as sickness, witchcraft, pollution of the *tapu*, etc. It must not be supposed that the *pou* was actually cast down, or re-erected, that is a figurative expression, *a la Maori*. These *mauri*, or talismanic, or preservative objects, were used to protect the vitality, life principle, etc., not only of man, but also of forests, lands, rivers, the ocean, etc., in the latter case that such might preserve their productiveness, and be uninjured by any arts of magic that might be directed against them.

NOTE.—Owing to the absence of fount with the long and short accents, many words in the above and previous paper have been spelled with double vowels to show the emphasis. Such a procedure is, however, very objectionable.—EDITOR.

(To be continued).



WHAKA-MOMORE.

BY LIEUT.-COL. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

IN a previous chapter I have mentioned that the tribe of Ngati-Kahukoka, while in a mental condition of sullen desperation, consequent on the murder of one of their chiefs by his own brother; had with quiet deliberation brought destruction on themselves in order to obtain vengeance upon that chief and his supporters, and further, I had explained that the condition of the Maori mind when suffering under insults or injuries—which for some good and sufficient Maori reason could not be wiped out in the ordinary manner—was known to the Maori by the term *whaka-momore*.

To every war-like race of men on this earth has been given an acute sense of the eternal fitness of things, and therefore it is that the Japanese resorts to the Hari-kari in order to preserve intact the honour of Nippon; while the birthright of the Maori is that sentiment which is called *whaka-momore*, and which enables him to rise superior to the most hopeless and desperate circumstances, in order to preserve the honour of his tribe and family.

The idea conveyed to the Maori mind by the word *whaka-momore* cannot easily be explained in English, but for the purpose of this article it will be sufficient to say that any person under the influence of this truly Maori passion, is dangerous to his fellow man, aye, even dangerous to his own blood relations. The madness is usually developed by some insult or injury, which may not be promptly avenged, and therefore, the tribe or individual broods over the wrong until, by some desperate act of violence its self-respect is recovered. The furor developed in such cases is not unlike that of the Malay when he is "amok," and drawing his "kris" kills everyone he meets, until he himself is slain, fighting to the last like a mad dog. There is, however, an important difference, for in the case of the Maori, both the intent and the result differs from that of the true amok. The

Maori, if injured, must have reparation, or he feels that he has lost caste, and is, therefore, an object of derision. Brooding over this idea he is for the time being a madman and dangerous to everyone. If he can kill the man who has injured him, that is a simple matter and not of sufficient consequence to induce *whaka-momore*, but if he happens to be so nearly related to the offender that he cannot take the personal vengeance so dear to the Maori heart, then he may kill an innocent and unoffending man; but not as the Malay would kill for the mere sake of killing, but as a means to an end, viz. : to draw down indirect vengeance on those whom he wished to reach, but whom for strong tribal reasons he dared not strike with his own hand. If a man such as I have described could not kill a man of such rank as might possibly bring about the destruction of his own people, then he might commit suicide, indeed, it is simply impossible to say what he might or might not do; but when once he had decided on his line of action he would become quite cheerful while awaiting his opportunity, but none the less he would remain *whaka-momore*.

A very good illustration of this frame of mind will be found in that interesting sketch of Maori life and character by Judge Wilson, entitled "The life and times of Te Waharoa." The incident is not mentioned with reference to any Maori characteristic, but simply to account for a very serious war, that might have gone far towards destroying the Arawa tribe. The affair in question took place during the year 1835, when one Hunga, a cousin of the renowned warrior Te Waharoa, was murdered by Haere Huka, a sub-chief of the Ngati-Whakaaue, of Rotorua. In this instance the murderer was clearly *whaka-momore*, for he had no quarrel with his victim; but he did have a grievance against his own tribe, forasmuch as he conceived that he had been badly treated by the elders thereof in the matter of a woman, and also in the distribution of certain goods that had been advanced to the tribe by the trader Tapsall. Haere Huka alone of all his tribe had failed to pay his share of the first advance made to the tribe, and therefore, Tapsall refused to allow him to participate in the second transaction. This was, of course, a severe snub, and as his tribe refused to assist him in the matter, he gave them an ominous intimation of his intentions by saying, "I cannot kill all my relatives, but I can bring war upon them." In this frame of mind he went straight to Hunga's village at Te Waerenga, and as the latter bent forward to greet him with the *hongi* ceremony (rubbing of noses), he struck him dead with his tomahawk. The Arawa, moved by the usual strong tribal feeling, adopted the deed as their own, though they had no sympathy with the murderer, and were in a position to know that the vengeance would be short, sharp, and

decisive. The possible consequences did not, however, trouble them, and they calmly awaited for the first move of the enemy, uncertain where the blow would fall. Te Waharoa did not leave them long in doubt, within a month he had stormed the Maketu *pa*, and killed two Arawa chiefs of the highest rank, and had wiped the Ngati-Pukenga from the face of the earth.

It is hardly possible to conceive any atrocity of which a Maori may not be capable when under the influence of *whaka-momore*. I might quote many instances drawn from Maori history to prove this assertion, but it will be sufficient to take one only from the traditions of Ngati-Porou. The sons of Tu-te-rangiwhiu having quarrelled among themselves, their mother (Te Otaihi) a woman of great strength of character intervened, and ordered them to live apart from one another. Karuai and Kopuni she sent to their uncle Tataramoa, who lived at Horoera. When these young men reached that place they found their uncle in the last stage of exasperation against certain subject tribes of the ancient people, viz.: the Ngati-Atarau, Ngati-Rongotopuni, and Ngati-Parahaka, all of whom were his vassals, and as such were bound to supply food to Tataramoa as their over-lord. This duty they had either failed to perform, or had done it so carelessly as to infuriate their chief. It, therefore, came to pass that when the two young men and their followers appeared upon the scene, he did that which will for ever give him an evil name in Maori history, for in order to secure their co-operation and his revenge, he sacrificed his daughter Moemoea, and with much ceremony and many *karakia* cooked her heart and gave it to the young men to eat. After this terrible repast they could not refuse to join Tataramoa in any of his projects. The offending tribes were therefore attacked, and most of them slain, some were, however, retained as slaves, and there are yet people living who can claim descent from the survivors, but are by no means anxious to prove a relationship so degrading.

It may not perhaps be generally known, but it was Whakamomore that caused the Taranaki war of 1860, a war that gradually spread all over the southern end of the North Island, and lasted for ten long years. About the year 1854 there were probably 25,000 Europeans men, women, and children, settled in the North, and of these some 2,500 were in the Province of Taranaki, occupying a small block of land which certainly did not average more than fifty acres to the family. These Taranaki settlers, like all the early colonists of New Zealand, were men of the highest type, many of them well educated, and all possessed of energy and courage; prepared to submit to any hardship so long as they could make a bare living in the land of their adoption. They were, moreover, quite undismayed by

the fact that they were surrounded on all sides by numerous tribes of savages, who were not only tried warriors inured to war, but also far better armed than the settlers. Confined within such very narrow limits, the Taranaki farmers were naturally anxious that the Government of the Colony should endeavour by all fair means to acquire more land, in order that there might be an opening, however small, for the children who were rapidly growing into manhood, and who, if they were unable to acquire farms of their own, must necessarily emigrate to some other place, for in those days no other course appeared to be open to them. This mild ambition to acquire sufficient land for the support of one's children, would not be deemed unnatural even at the present day, when we are all more or less mad on the land question; but in those days when the amount of cultivation done by the Maoris was so small that the country appeared to be unoccupied, it was nothing short of a virtue that a man should desire to see each of his sons master of fifty acres, and even our day dreams went no farther than that. We must not however forget that the Maori position was also unassailable, and their views perfectly sound; to them it seemed that they were confronted by a problem that might only be solved by war. They found themselves living side by side and in friendship with a new race of men, with whom large families were the rule, whereas they felt that they were steadily decreasing. The situation was not really new, any Maori tribe of old times that appeared to increase abnormally would become an object of suspicion, and would be attacked before it became too strong, as were the Ngai-Te-rangi of Tauranga before they left Whangara. Moreover, the tribes of Taranaki saw that our habits were such, that we thrived on lands that were to them almost useless possessions, and from all of these facts they evolved the theory, that now or never they must reduce us to a condition of hopeless dependancy, or themselves sink into a state of vassalage. Looking back with unprejudiced eyes on the condition of affairs at that time, one now wonders what justification the senior officers of Her Majesty's forces, and certain members of the Church Mission with their English friends, had for the conclusion at which they arrived, viz., that the war in New Zealand was the result solely of Colonial greed for land and military expenditure.

That the colonists did not attain the object of their desires in the peaceful manner they had anticipated, is true, for the Maori mind was at that early period of our history a sealed book to them; but they certainly were not responsible for the war; that was brought about by the joint bungling of the Imperial authorities and the Maoris. We have, however, every reason to congratulate ourselves

on the fact, that as war could not be avoided, it was well that the inevitable bungling took place before the Colony had attained any great degree of prosperity.

It was about the year 1854 that the Maoris began to show signs of restlessness without apparent cause, inasmuch as peace and good will had always characterised the relations between the two races ; but that there was something serious fermenting in the Maori mind was apparent even to the most careless among the Europeans. Rumours that a league had been formed in order to prevent further sales of land to the dreaded *Pakeha*, were in circulation among the settlers of Taranaki ; but I doubt if anyone really believed these stories until their eyes had been rudely opened by evidence that could not be ignored. How the league in question came to be formed, and the history of its development into the King movement has not as yet been properly explained ; but from enquiries I have made during the past thirty years from all classes of Maoris, I am of opinion that it was the result of advice given by certain intemperate members of the Church Mission Society. This is the opinion of many Maoris who themselves took a leading part in the movement, and Rewi Maniapoto told me not long before his death that Mr. C. O. Davis and a certain member of the Church Mission had been most active in persuading him to join. The home of the mischief would, however, appear to have been at Otaki and Taupo, where the missionaries were known to be most hostile to their own countrymen, and most certain it is that Matene te Whiwhi of Otaki, and the bumptious Te Heuheu of Taupo—neither of whom could have had any dealings with the *Pakeha* or grievances against them—were among the chief leaders in both Land League and King movement. While expressing this opinion I do not for one moment imply, that those who advised the Maoris foresaw the result of their advice, or intended to cause serious trouble ; but the Mission was at all times inimical to Europeans, and that they would have prevented any increase in our numbers had it been possible admits of no doubt.

It is not easy for the ordinary layman to understand the working of the Missionary mind, and therefore he makes no allowance for that condition of exaltation and confusion of ideas which would seem to be the lot of all men who have worked long among the heathen, and which finds expression in the belief that those who oppose a Missionary are necessarily opposing the Lord. It cannot be said that the Mission acted entirely without reason, for many years they had been supreme among the Maoris and had enforced their somewhat narrow views with all the fervour of well meaning and therefore mischievous men. I use this expression advisedly, for sincere men

who live with the Maori should not hold extreme views on any subject, it is not safe, for they cannot foresee what logical (Maori) conclusion their flock may arrive at after a consideration of those words. It was about this period that the Maori began to show signs of a desire for emancipation from the church; he had discovered that the lay European did not regard the members of the Mission as minor deities, or even believe that they were infallible, and this discovery was a severe blow to the *mana* of the church. The Maori was in a transition state; the dreary Calvinistic sabbath had no longer charms for him, for his ancient dances and songs had been banished from the village, and in many instances the Mission edicts forbade the teaching of the old legends or genealogies. Therefore it was that the Maori was deadly tired of this incubus and wanted a change, even though it might be for the worse! it had even come to this, that the only words of the Missionaries that were listened to with any respect, were those which warned his flock against the growing power of the *Pakeha*. Naturally enough the Maori believed in a warning such as this for he is shrewd, and though he might be somewhat astonished to find traitors among the white people, he yet believed, for it seemed to him that the warning was against the interests of those who gave it. Moreover the notion of a combination to oppose the encroaching *Pakeha*, was acceptable to a people, to whom political effervescence is a necessity of life, and it did not take them long to convince the unbelieving *Pakeha* that they could do something more than talk.

The first victim of the league was Rawiri Waiaua, a famous warrior of the old Maori fighting days, and who it is said intended to sell a small block of land to the Crown. What the intention of Rawiri may have been, I know not; but Dr. Thomson, in his "Story of New Zealand," is responsible for the statement that he did intend to sell. As I have heard the tale, it would seem that Rawiri claimed the land, and finding that his right was disputed by another section of the tribe, he went with twenty unarmed men to set up boundary posts by way of asserting his title, and while thus engaged was confronted by Te Waitere *alias* Katatore, at the head of sixty armed men, who called upon Rawiri to desist, and when the old warrior turned a deaf ear to his threats, he caused his men to fire a volley into the party, with the result that Rawiri and six men were slain, and many others wounded. This savage outrage stirred up all the tribes of the west coast, some joining the friends of Rawiri, who were now under the leadership of Ihaia Kirikumara, while others threw in their lot with the main body of Ngati-Awa, under William King, otherwise known as Te Rangitake. Thereupon the strongholds of

each party were fortified, and in some instances besieged, and battles fought, until some hundred and fifty men had been killed or wounded; then by the intervention of certain neutral chiefs hostilities were suspended, and this truce was proudly referred to as a permanent peace; but the Land League had created dissensions among the Ngati-Awa that have never yet been healed; they had done even more than this, they had taken the first step towards destroying the *mana Maori* *

This peace of the year, 1856, proved to be an exceedingly hollow affair, for up to this time there had been nothing decisive in the fighting, both parties had lost men, but it could not be said that the death of Rawiri had been avenged. Moreover, as that chief and his followers had been unarmed when fired upon, Kirikumara and his adherents chose to regard their death as a *kohuru* (treacherous murder). This view of the case was well known to Katatore who never for one moment doubted that he would have to pay the penalty on the first convenient opportunity. As for the European settlers, they awaited the denouement with much interest, for they sympathised with Te Kirikumara and his small band who had behaved so gallantly. They were not kept long in suspense, for Katatore, who was a very obstinate man, resolved to pay a visit to the town of New Plymouth, and this fact becoming known to his enemies, they promptly laid an ambush in a blacksmith's shop on the high road, with the view to intercept him on his return. The ambush was successful, and Katatore, wounded by the first volley, was pursued and despatched with a tomahawk; and a near relative of the chief suffered the same fate. After this little interlude the war was resumed with vigour and Ihaia attacked by the whole strength of the Land League, was glad to make his escape to Mokau, where he lived for some years under the protection of Ngati-Maniapoto. Meanwhile Governor Gore-Brown had arrived in New Zealand and had taken up his position as Governor of the Colony. He was at once impressed by the necessity of putting an end to the tyranny of the League; but it cannot be said that he acted hastily or without due consideration, for it was not before November, 1859, that he visited Taranaki with the view of ending the trouble. At a meeting held, which was largely attended by the Maoris, he announced that he

* From an old diary, commencing in 1854, we abstract the following:—
4th August, 1854: Rawiri and four other Maoris shot at Taruru-tangi by Katatore, twelve others wounded. 7th August: Rawiri was quietly buried by his people on the spot where he was shot. The Chief Surveyor, Octavius Carrington, was prevented by other duties from being present, or he would undoubtedly have been shot by Katatore.—EDITOR.

was opposed to the policy of the League, in so far that he would not allow that institution to terrorise any person who desired to sell any of his land.

Now it so happened that Ihaia Kirikumara and his friends were present at the meeting, and were a disturbing element, since their desire for revenge was unsatisfied, and even accentuated by their expulsion from Taranaki. Each one of them was *whaka-momore* and ready for any action that might bring trouble on their tribe. The Governor's speech gave them their cue, the opportunity for which they had so long waited had come. Te Teira rose at once and said, "I have a small piece of land which I desire to sell." The Governor replied that he would buy it provided Te Teira could show a good title. Then Te Rangitake, the leading chief of Ngati-Awa, rose and intimated that he would not allow the sale. On this the Governor asked him if he claimed the land, and the chief replied that he did not, but that he would not allow it to be sold. Now, it was against this very line of action that His Excellency had set his face; he, therefore, repeated his intention to complete the purchase, and left the question of title to be enquired into by a commissioner (Mr. Parris), who in due time reported in favour of Te Teiras' right to the land.

In this way the tribe of Ngati-Awa were successfully embroiled with the Imperial Government, and the settlers were dragged into the quarrel though they had absolutely no say on any vital question; they had simply to bear the brunt of an ill-managed war, loose all their property, and put up with the undeserved abuse of the Church of England Missionaries, and those military inefficients, who had found that the Maoris were not so easily beaten. The only man who really gained by the situation was Ihaia Kirikumara, who, before he died, had the satisfaction of seeing his tribe defeated and landless, dependant on the European conqueror for such reserves as might be returned to them for their support.

During the year 1867, I was so fortunate as to witness a very amusing instance of this same *whaka-momore*. At that time I was stationed at the Mokoia redoubt, within the boundaries of the Ngati-Ruanui, and was in charge of a detachment of the Colonial forces. For some years our normal condition had been one of active hostility against the Hauhau fanatics, but at the period in question, our attitude was one of passive but watchful enmity, more or less embarrassed by the fact that there were in the neighbourhood, certain so-called friendly natives, who were probably no better than spies. These men did not differ greatly in appearance from their compatriots the Hauhaus, for whom they were frequently mistaken by nervous

travellers who—as the old saying has it—“went with their hearts in their mouths,” knowing that speedy death awaited them should the doubtful looking wayfarers prove to be enemies rather than uncertain friends.

One very fine day about noon, when most of the men were lying lazily in their tents, the sentry on the redoubt gate noticed a remarkably fine athletic young Maori approaching his post, and from the confidence and decision with which the stranger advanced, he concluded that he must be one of the aforesaid friendlies. Under this impression he allowed him to proceed unchallenged to the guard tent which was pitched outside the redoubt. The man did not hesitate, but walked right into the tent, and presently emerged therefrom with two rifles, which he proceeded to carry off in a leisurely manner. The guard, who for the most part had been awake all the previous night, were probably asleep, and those who were not, were paralysed by the audacity of the deed and did not attempt to seize the culprit until he began to walk away ; when, however, they realised that there was something wrong, and promptly made him a prisoner.

When I interviewed the captive I saw at once by his wild appearance that he was a Hauhau pure and simple, and a very bold determined man, with a quiet careless manner that was, to say the least, impressive. I naturally asked him to explain why he had entered our camp and behaved so stranglely, and his reply was sufficient to astonish anyone who had not been hardened by Maori experience. He said, “I wish to die, and I want to know why I have not been shot? I have always been told that to touch the arms of an enemy’s war party was an offence punishable by death ; this is your rule, and therefore I have a right to ask why you do not do your duty ? I came here to die, and if you do not kill me you will compel me to do something desperate, so let there be no hesitation.”

All of this was said very quietly, but I did not for one moment doubt that the young warrior would be as good as his word, but the situation was so entirely new, that I must confess that I hardly knew how to deal with him. Clearly it was a case in which it was necessary to gain time, so I entered into the spirit of this tragical comedy, and told him that while I quite admitted that he ought to be shot, and thought I should probably have to do it, I was none the less bound by certain *Pakeha* rules ; that I could not shoot him without reference to my superior officer, and as it was a fixed principle of our law that no one should be punished without a fair trial, I had no alternative, but must report the matter and await instructions. To all of this he gave a qualified assent, saying that I

was right to follow out the *Pakeha* customs in such things, but that he did hope there would be no unnecessary delay. I then enquired into his history, and asked what chain of circumstances had caused him to seek death at our hands. On these points he was perfectly frank and had no desire to conceal anything. He told me that his name was Takitaki, that he belonged to the Nga-Ruahine tribe and acknowledged Titokowaru and Toi as his chiefs, the latter being a near relative. To account for his appearance in our camp, he explained that his people were now on a visit to the Pakakohi tribe, and had slept the previous night at the Whakamara Village, where his wife believed that she had some cause for jealousy, and when they were ready to start on the following morning, had refused to allow him to carry their child notwithstanding that he had indignantly denied the commission of the impropriety attributed to him. She had, moreover, continued to taunt and accuse him before the whole tribe, until he had taken the resolution to commit suicide, and had left his wife saying that as she would not believe him she would see his face no more. His first intention had been to throw himself from the top of the nearest cliff; but on second thoughts had decided to induce the *Pakehas* to shoot him, and in this manner punish his tribe who had taken the part of his wife, forasmuch as some of them would certainly be shot while trying to avenge his death.

This short history indicated to me the line of action that I must pursue, I therefore asked my old native servant (Ramoko) whether he would undertake the somewhat dangerous duty of following Nga-Ruahine, in order to deliver a letter to Toi. Knowing full well the danger of such a journey, but quite careless of the possible consequences to himself, Ramoko readily consented to go, and so well did he do his work that he returned the same night with Toi. But the best laid plans fail at times, and so it happened in this instance, for before my messenger could return the newly appointed Magistrate of the district appeared on the scene, deeply impressed with the majesty of the law, and in a dangerous condition of zeal. When he had heard my report he declared that it was a glaring case of larceny of two rifles, and acting on this view caused Takitaki to be brought before him and sentenced him to three months in the Patea gaol. I did mildly suggest that whatever criminal intention there may have been, was not in the direction of larceny; but as the magistrate did not agree with me I did not unduly press my opinion upon him.

The sentence was a very severe blow to the would-be suicide, who told the Magistrate that the Patea cliffs would suit him as well as a *Pakeha* bullet, and that do what we would he would find some method of dying, in fact he let us know very plainly that he thought our behaviour was a piece of *pokanoa* (impertinent inter-

ference). For my own part I never have been able to understand why a man should be punished for failing to commit suicide; but will admit that it may be bad form, and that self destruction is a somewhat cowardly method of avoiding one's responsibilities. Even this much is, however, a matter of opinion, and therefore I sympathised with Takitaki in his affliction and first experience of British law, and comforted him by suggesting that the sentence might yet be reversed, inasmuch as I had sent a messenger to bring Toi to his assistance.

When the chief arrived I told him plainly that I thought the sentence an absurdity; but that he would do well not to express an opinion to that effect, that he should rather acquiesce but intimate to the magistrate that he would hold him responsible for the safety of the prisoner and his due production at the end of his term of imprisonment. Like all his race Toi was quick of apprehension, and when he met the representative of the law he explained with dignified gravity that he had come to take his troublesome relative away, and would be answerable for his future behaviour; but as he had already been brought before the Court and sentenced to three months imprisonment, he would offer no opposition provided the magistrate would guarantee the safety of the prisoner. This, he added, was a serious demand because there could be no doubt that Takitaki would take the earliest opportunity of destroying either himself or his gaoler, and as he had made up his mind to hold the magistrate responsible for any such action and its probable consequences, the matter might be worth his consideration. This view of the case rendered the Department of Justice amenable to reason, and resulted as I had foreseen, in the prisoner being handed over to his chief.

The meeting between the two men was rather amusing, the chief, master of the situation, the clansman ashamed and sullen. The former commenced a wordy duel by remarking that he hoped his son was sufficiently ashamed of his behaviour, not only had he been the cause of much anxiety and grief to his wife, family, and tribe, but he had also given much annoyance to the *Pakeha*, who, had they not been a people of extraordinary generosity and forbearance would certainly have shot him. At this point the prisoner muttered something exceedingly uncomplimentary concerning the forbearance of the *Pakeha*, and reiterated that of all things he most desired to be shot. Toi replied, "Do you wish to cause your wife's death, and make your son an orphan? We have already had much trouble to prevent the woman hanging herself. Are you so ignorant as not to know that it is the manner and custom of women to be jealous and rail at their husbands; but is that a sufficient reason why a notable warrior should behave like a boy?" Much more to the same effect did the

chief say in the same quiet contemptuous voice, until Takitaki, finding that he was getting the worst of the argument, began to weep. Then Toi so far forgot his dignity that he actually winked at me. He may, however, be excused this breach of good manners, for he had won a hard fought battle against a very doughty antagonist.

Takitaki, although quite young, was rather celebrated as a fighting man; indeed his reputation in the tribe was only inferior to those famous warriors Te Waka and Tu-whaka-ruru, and I have reason to regret that I did not, in this instance, carry out the advice so often impressed upon me by my old Maori friends, viz., to kill an enemy whenever opportunity offered; for in July of the following year Takitaki led the assault on one of our forts, and killed Capt. F. Ross, who was defending the gateway. Takitaki himself did not come off scatheless, for his arm was shattered by a revolver bullet fired by my friend just before he received his death wound, and therefore, I ought not perhaps to complain, for in a measure I have had compensation seeing that my enemy was for ever disabled, and that in the end he died from the effects thereof. Had there been but ten men of the stamp of Takitaki the redoubt must have been taken; but luckily there were not, and therefore, a mere handful of men held the open gateway to the end, though many were killed at that dangerous post.

I have been told that a mild form of *whaka-momore* was exhibited by a section of the Ngati-Porou tribe during the Nga-Puhi invasion, when, for the first time, the former tribe experienced the effects of musketry in Maori warfare. It is said that when the power of gun-powder was first made manifest to the Ngati-Porou, they broke and fled to the mountains and forests in such terror; that parents became separated from their children, and in many instances never met again. Worse still, the Ngai-Tane lost their old chieftainess, Hine-te-Iwaiwa, who probably perished of hunger and exposure, for nothing was ever heard of her fate. This was a very serious matter for her tribe; firstly, because their friends would taunt them with the loss for many generations, and secondly, because those sections of her relatives who lived with other tribes, would certainly hold the Ngai-Tane responsible for her death, and avenge her. Such, indeed, was the course followed in this instance, for the Whanau-a-Karuai conceived themselves to be injured by the loss of the old chieftainess and not only attacked the Ngai-Tane, but killed two of their chiefs who were more nearly related to the attacking party than to the Ngai-Tane. This effort of vengeance not only was not resented by the relatives of the victims; but it was generally approved as the correct line of action in such cases. The spirit of the lost woman had been appeased, the tribal honour satisfied, and a careless tribe punished.



MAORI MATTER AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

SOME NOTES ON THE GREY COLLECTION IN THE
CAPETOWN LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. H. W. WILLIAMS, M.A.

IN the course of a letter from Government House, Auckland, 21st October, 1861, to Mr. Justice Watermeyer, Sir George Grey wrote as follows:—" . . . I propose therefore, by degrees to send my whole library to the South African Public Library at Capetown, there to be deposited subject to the following conditions: 'That I may at any time remove from the library, as long as I require them, any books or manuscript for my own use. That I may give the like privilege to the occupants of any institution I may hereafter found in South Africa. That during my lifetime all other persons shall be admitted, under the rules and regulations of the library, to use the books and manuscripts in the library, but that no person shall, without my consent, be permitted to remove any of them from the building. After my death the trustees of my collection shall make such regulations on this last subject as they think proper as I do not wish to bind posterity by any unalterable rule.'"

Then after naming trustees he continues:—"You are aware that nearly all my library is in England and it will take some time to get it removed to the Cape. I have however with me here some very valuable books and manuscripts. These I send at once in the "*Cossack*," in two cases. You will find what they are from the enclosed list."

This library thus presented to South Africa contained, as is well known, besides many exceedingly valuable manuscripts and early editions, a large collection of matter relating to New Zealand, much of which is in the Maori language. It is with this matter that these notes are concerned.

It has been suggested that the inclusion of this Maori matter in the gift was an oversight due to the press of many public duties upon Sir George's attention. But this idea is disposed of by his remarks in the preface to the second edition of *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 19, where he distinctly states that they were deliberately included in the hope that he and Dr. Bleek might be able to work together upon the unpublished matter in Maori. This hope was never realized, and there the material has lain for over 40 years practically lost to Maori scholars in New Zealand, and for the most part undisturbed on the shelves of the fireproof room in which the collection has been placed.*

Circumstances led to my spending January of this year in Capetown and I lost no time in making acquaintance with the contents of those shelves. I wish to place on record my appreciation of the kindness of the librarian Mr L. S. Lewis and his staff, who cordially welcomed me, and did all in their power to assist me in looking up the various volumes I wished to consult during the month I was at work.

During his stay in Capetown, as governor (1854-1859) Sir George Grey had, with the assistance of Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, compiled a catalogue of his library—of which catalogue volume ii., part 4 contains the New Zealand Philology. This was published at Capetown in 1858, and will be referred to by number in these notes.

Numbers 1-133 are printed works, including Sir George Grey's published works, dictionaries, grammars, and a number of books and pamphlets produced by the early missionary presses, but not including two interleaved and annotated copies of Williams's Dictionary, first edition. Of these the following may be mentioned:—

120.—MAORI MEMENTOS. One copy has numerous ms. notes and corrections: this was seen but was not collated.

124.—MOTEA TEA, first edition. Some pages contain translations of the songs.

125.—MOTEA TEA, second edition. Three copies were noted, with copious corrections, notes, and translations of the songs, mainly in Sir George's own handwriting.

126.—NGA-MAHINGA (*Polynesian Mythology*). (a) An interleaved copy containing many corrections and some additions in Sir George's hand. (b) A copy bound up with 120 above, with many corrections

* Mr. Lewis informed me that he had once, at great trouble, had a copy made of a manuscript in English for a gentleman in New Zealand, and his experience convinced him that it would be an absolute impossibility to get copies made of any of the Maori manuscripts.

which are with very few exceptions incorporated in (a). (c) A copy corrected in pencil by a Maori (? Te Rangikaheke); on p. 3 in Sir George's hand is a note: "my new proof copy has been corrected by the pencilled corrections in this." Presumably (a) is the "new proof copy" here referred to, but there are here about fifty corrections, other than punctuation, not carried into that copy—some are important.

133.—KO NGA WAIATA MAORI. Page 56 of additional Maori songs, unfinished, breaking off in the middle of a sentence. This could not be found, but apparently a copy in the Auckland Free Library—see catalogue there, p. 167. Compare 140, below.

Numbers 134-166 are classed as mss. and include various contributions by Maoris, original papers by Archdeacons Maunsell and Hadfield, and others, also the two interleaved copies of Williams' Dictionary mentioned above.

134.—An octavo volume of 282 pp., neatly written by Te Rangikaheke: poems, legends, and accounts of ceremonies. Some of the legends were copied.

135.—Derived from Te Rangihaeata; described by Sir George Grey as "generally unpublished," but the history of Maui coincides with Polynesian Mythology, first edition, pp. 17-20, and adds some new matter: other portions seem to be the originals of the story of Tawhaki (pp. 45-52), of Wahieroa (pp. 54-57), of Kae (pp. 36-38), of Whakataupotiki (pp. 59-62), in the order here given. These portions of the ms. were collated with the pages enumerated, and appear to have been freely edited.

136 and 137.—Poems were not consulted.

138.—Contains poems, and a legend copied into 141.

139.—Contains poems, and a short account of the origin of Ngati-Awa, which was copied; also the story of Manaia written in pencil by a native, and inked over,, not always faithfully (? by Lady Grey)—this was collated with Polynesian Mythology, p. 117, line 12 *et seq.*, which follows it closely.

140.—Was not found. This, which is the "copy" for 133 above, is in the Auckland Library—see catalogue thereof, p. 315. If these two were ever sent to the Cape they must have been removed, in accordance with the conditions quoted above, from the dedicatory letter mentioned above, and never returned.

141.—Clean copies by Sir George and Lady Grey of legends supplied by Maoris in Nos. 134, 138, and 144, giving accounts of Whakatauihu (134), Takitawhitoariki (144), Te Patunga o Tau-o-

Porirua, Taniwha; Te Naue; the month; Te Aohuruhuru, and Hinepoupou raua ko te Oriparoa (138). All these were copied, and compared with the originals.

142 and 143.—English translations of some of above, and parts of Polynesian Mythology. Not consulted.

144.—Poems, genealogies, a legend (see 141), and the account of Te Ngahue's visit to New Zealand. Not copied.

145.—A folio volume by Te Rangikaheke, described as "for the most part unpublished," but pp. 53-80 are original of MOTEATEA, iii.-xxx., pp. 82-87 of lxxvii-lxxxii.; and many of the poems and proverbs appear in Sir George Grey's published collections. This volume was consulted, but not collated.

146.—A large folio volume, 542 pp., made up of various sized pages and scraps of paper, contains much matter which require editing, and some already published. Pages 502-519, signed by Piri Kawau, and apparently written by him are the original of Polynesian Mythology 107-116, while pp., 519-529 duplicate, with some variations and a little new matter, the story as given on pp. 111-116; but it should be noticed that pp. 109-110 Polynesian Mythology are so altered as to suggest that they may have been obtained from another source.

147, 148, 149.—Original letters, were not consulted.

150.—A large folio volume of miscellaneous contents, chiefly poems. Not consulted.

151.—Another large volume of miscellaneous papers, containing among other things, some short legends written by Wohlers; some proverbs, apparently incorporated into Grey's collection; a legend entitled, "Muri-ranga-whenua," from which has been derived Polynesian Mythology, pp. 25-28, 31-35, 39-44 (this was collated); the original of the story of Hinemoa; the legend of Tawhaki, which seems to be woven with 131 (q.v.) to form pp. 45-54 of Polynesian Mythology.

152.—Another large composite volume, provides with other matter, the original of Moteatea, lxxii-lxxiv and xxxi-lxxi, the latter written by Te Rangi-ka-heke. This was consulted, but not collated.

153.—Similar to the last and more bulky, a story entitled, "Whakataupotiki," in this closely resembles Polynesian Mythology 42 ff., but this is not apparently the original source. The story of Takarangi, and Raumahora is also in this volume, and was collated with Polynesian Mythology 182-183.

155.—Proverbs. The catalogue says, "some have not yet been published in No. 132." But there was little new matter of any value.

160.—“A draft dictionary” was disappointing, containing as it did only some of the words on pp. 7 and 8 of Moteatea.

164.—A double interleaved copy of Williams’ Dictionary, first edition, was full of interesting matter, and provided over 2500 entries of varying importance. All the notes are in Sir George Grey’s hand, and many are very suggestive.

165.—A single interleaved copy of the same, with the name “J. W. Hamilton, Auckland,” said by Sir George in his catalogue to illustrate Whanganui dialect, furnished some 600 entries; but is less certain in orthography than the preceding, and often misleading.

The ms. for press of *Nga-Mahinga* (Polynesian Mythology), is an interesting item not catalogued by Bleek. The copy put in of Huhuti (pp. 164-5), seems to be the original, and reads near the end “*Kia rua ai nga painga.*” In the story of Kahureremoa the pagination begins at 1, but p. 9 of the ms. is followed by p. 15, and no trace appears of the displaced passage. No copy appears for Takarangi and Raumahora, but this was clearly taken from Moteatea, many pages of which were inserted as copy.

Of the ms. examined, the most striking were those by Te Rangi-ka-heke, whose writing is clear, and punctuation admirable. His punctuation has, unfortunately, not always been followed in the copies made for press. His style is singularly free from that erratic joining and breaking of words which characterise most Maori writing; an almost solitary example being *kona*, which Sir George Grey has misread *ko nga*.

The prose matter in the appendix to Moteatea was mainly derived from Te Rangi-ka-heke, and was very sparingly edited. But the same matter was very freely handled when transferred to “*Nga Mahinga*,” and a comparison of the latter with the mss. makes it apparent that the editor allowed himself still further freedom, dislocating his narratives, inserting particles, altering the diction, and in places weaving together two narratives in such a way as to necessitate wholesale alterations in proper names. This makes it well nigh impossible to state in some cases which is the original ms. of the printed story, while the care with which Sir George Grey preserved his originals makes it improbable that the original version has been lost.

The above resumé of a month’s work has been cast in a somewhat tabular form, in order that it may be apparent how much remains still to be done. Time did not admit of consulting Sir George Grey’s notes on his published Maori songs, many of which were derived from Maoris. Nothing was done in the way of copying the many hundreds of unpublished songs which form the bulk of the ms. matter. There are numerous letters to be read and studied.

Histories of intertribal wars to be edited, and writings which may probably throw light on many ancient customs. The old Maori is fast passing away, and all this material is lying a sealed book at Cape-town. It is not, perhaps, too much to hope that the various works may ultimately find their resting place in New Zealand, and that the date of their return may not be indefinitely postponed.

We notice by the *Cape Times* of the 19th of August, 1906, that a Bill was passed the Lower House of the Cape Legislature, authorising the transfer of some of these documents to New Zealand, but unfortunately, the Upper House threw the Bill out.—Ed.]



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS. POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

THE Council met at New Plymouth on Tuesday, 25th September, 1906.

Present: S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S., President in the Chair, and Messrs. Corkill, Newman, and Skinner.

Dr. A. K. Newman, Wellington, was elected a member of the Society.

It was agreed to exchange publications with the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

The Council agreed to accept custody of late Mr. Fergusson's collection of papers, original and otherwise, dealing with New Zealand history and traditions.

A list of Members to be forwarded to the Society of Arts, London, as requested.

The resignation of the Rev. W. Watt, as a Member was received.

Papers received:—

285 "The Grey Collection at the Cape." Rev. H. W. Williams.

286 "The Use of Birds in Navigation." Taylor White.

287 "The *Tohunga* Maori." Col. Gudgeon.

Whitcombe and Tombs' account for printing No. 2 of Vol. XV. of JOURNAL was passed for payment.



THE LORE OF THE *WHARE-KOHANGA*.

BY ELDSON BEST.

PART IV.

ORIORI TAMARIKI.

THE *oriori* or *whakaoriori* is a song sung to children when they are being nursed. The term is probably derived from *ari* = to move, to cause to wave to and fro. It is generally applied to all such songs, but the *oriori* proper is a lullaby, sung to soothe a fretful or crying child, the singer walking about with the child in her, or his, arms. The *whakatakiri* is a song sung to children, not when they are crying, but when they are being tossed and played with.

We give some of these songs, as collected from the tribes of this district. Shortly after the fall of Mokoia, at Rotorua, to Nga-Puhi, in the early twenties of last century, in 1823, a war party of natives left Te Whaiti, armed with native weapons only and, marching by Parahaki, attacked the people of the Waiau Valley, near Te Putere, where they obtained a supply of human flesh, as provisions. Hence they passed on to Mohaka, where more fighting occurred. Proceeding to Te Wairoa the force there met with a crushing defeat at Rangi-houa, most of the party being slain and eaten. Now, among this party was a little girl, now known as Ripeka, a daughter of Taupo, who was carried on the back of a relative during the journey. Her mother was slain in the above fight. On the return of the warriors to Te Whaiti, the child suffered much from hunger in the flight, and her father composed the following *oriori* and sang it to her. Ripeka is still living though very old ::—

E hine !
E tangi nei ki te kai
Kaore he kai ma taua i konei

Ka mahue te whenua
 Nga whakawaiutanga a ou tipuna
 Ka riro to matua, ka riro kai te Reinga
 Kai te harihari mai i nga tou hemo nei
 E tipi ra i te whenua
 E ngaro nei te tangata
 Me aha koia, E hine!
 I ta te Po tana mahi
 Nana nei i whakapani
 Koia ki a taua
 E hine, . . . E hine!"

The following is somewhat obscure in parts:—

AN *Oriori*.

" Katahi ano ka maranga taku ua
 Kai runga o te whanau a te Pakowaru
 A to taua kuia
 Ko wai ka kite iho i te kokonga pouri
 Hua noa hoki koe
 I whakatotohe mai ai i Hawaiki
 E kore e kitea
 I nana! Ka kitea he ope taua
 He peka a tama
 Whitiwhiti rua te hapai o te rakau
 Ka whiti kai te mauī
 Ka raka kai te katau
 E oi ana nga tai o Puta-hou
 Kia eketia te tihi ki Rangitoto
 Ka noho au
 Ko hea tenei na;
 Ko Ope-rua
 Ko te tihi (? tiki) o Tamutu, o Te Rangi-ita
 Tena ano to papa
 Kai te puruatanga o te huarahi
 Kai te whakakai o Huia
 Poia atu ki te ringa
 He mata whenua ki teteahi taha
 Whakatarawahi ana ki nga kurae kau anake
 Kai he te manu a tiki
 E tama. . . E!"

The following is an ancient *oriori*, and is said to have been composed by Maro-nui, of the Rongo-Whakaata tribe of Turanga, as a lullaby to his grandchild, Rua-tapu-nui:—

" Popo!

E tangi ana tama ki te kai mana
 Waiho me tiki ake ki te pou-a-hao-kai (pou kai in another version)
 Hai homai i te pakake ki uta ra
 Hai waiu mo tama
 Kia mauria mai e to tipuna, e Ue-nuku
 Whakarongo ko te kumara, ko Pari-nui-te-ra
 Ka whai muta te tapuae o Tangaroa (hiki mata in another version)
 Tangaroa ka haru

Ka noho Uru, ka nouo i a Ngana
 Puta mai ki waho ra, ko te Ao-tu, ko te Ao-hore
 Ko Hine-tua.hoana
 Ko Tangaroa te whatu o Poutini
 Kai te kukunetanga mai i Hawaiki
 Ki te ahua, ko Maui-whare-kino
 Ka noho i a Pani
 Ka kawea ki te wai o Mona-ariki
 Na onehunga, na te piere. na te matata
 Na te ngawha, te pia tangi-wharau
 Ka hoake ki uta ra te pipi-wharau-roa
 Na Whena koe, E Waho . . E!
 He tuatahi, E Waho . . E!
 He tuarna, ka topea i reira
 Ko te whata nui, ko te whata roa
 Ko te ti haere na Kohuru
 Na Pacaki, na Rakei-ora, na Turuwhatu
 Ko Waiho anake te tangata i rere noa
 I te ahi rara a Rongo-marae-roa
 Ko te kakahu no Tu, ko Te Rangi-kaupapa
 Ko te tatua i roiro mai
 I eke noa ai a Matua-tonga
 Tenei te manawa ka puritea
 Tenei te manawa ka tawhia
 Kia hara mai ana tana hokowhitu i te ara
 Ka kiia mai e Rua-tapu ki te tama-mehameha
 Ka tahuri i te uru purei ata (huri purei ata)
 Ka whakakau tama i a ia
 Whakarere iho te kakau o te hoe
 Ko Manini-tua, ko Manini-aro
 Ka tangi te kura, ka tangi wiwini
 Ka tangi te kura. ka tangi wawana
 Ko Hakirirangi* ka u ki uta ra
 Te kowhai ka ngawha
 Ka ringia te kete, ko Manawa-ru
 Ko Arai te uru, ka kitea e te tini, e te mano
 Ko Makauri anake i mahue atu
 I waho o Toka-ahuru
 Ko te peka i rere mai ki uta ra
 Hai kura mo Mahaki
 Ko Manga-motea, ko Ue-tanguru
 Ko te Koiwi, ko Rongo-rapua
 Waiho me tiki ake i te kumara i a Rangi
 Ko Peke-hawani, ka moe i a Rehua
 Ko Ruuhi-te-rangi
 Ka tau kai raro te ngahuru-tikotiko-icere
 Ko Pou-tu-te-rangi, te Matahi-o-te-tau
 Te putunga o te hinu
 E tama . . E!''

The above is extremely interesting, inasmuch as it refers to events which occurred in the long ago, and which, unfortunately, we know

* See Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. xii., p 121.

very little about. Maui-whare-kino, also known as Rongo-maui, was the husband of Pani, the mother or origin of the *kumara*, or sweet potatoe. Matua-tonga seems to be the *mauri* (see note) of the *kumara*. It is said to be a stone, a piece of which was at Makauri, at Poverty Bay, and the Matua-tonga *mauri* at Rotorua is another portion of it. Manawa-ru is a place name at Turanga.* Reference is also made to the singular legend of the sub-marine tree said to be standing in the sea off Turanga. In regard to the star names mentioned, my notes are that Rehua and Pou-tu-te-rangi are the same. "When the feet of Rehua alight upon the earth, it is then autumn, and his name changes to Pou-tu-te-rangi. Rehua has two wives, Ruuhi and Whakaonge-kai, which are both stars."

An interesting *oriori*, which is also a *tua tamariki*, may be seen at p. 139 Vol. II. of this Journal.

An *Oriori*.

Composed by Te Wetena, for his child

"E hika hoki e kuika nei-o
Matua iara e tahuri mai
Ka roiro ra to matua
Te ukuhanga na te tipua
Kotahi tonu nei te wharaunga
Ko to wairua e moea nei
Oho rawa ake nei ki te ao
Muri ka noa koe i ahau."

II.

"Me kawe rawa au e Whatawhata
Nga raro whare ki Waikohu-o
Taku haerenga atu i te po
Te whakama noa i ahau."

This Whatawhata is said to have been a remote ancestor who was destroyed by fire, hence his name has come to be used as a kind of synonym for fire.

The following is of interest as containing allusions to many ancient events and persons. The songs are attributed to different persons. For instance, the following is said by some to have been composed by Toko-pounamu, who was slain at Pu-kareao by Ngati-Awa some three generations ago. Others say that it was the work of Te Ipu-wai, who composed it to sing over his grandchild, Tareha, of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. Hameme, of Warahoe was enslaved by Ngati-Tuwharetoa, at the Kohi-kete fight and she married Oneone, son of Te Kahu-o-te-rangi, and had Tareha :—

* After which the Manawa-ru Range at Ruatahuna was named.

An Oriori *

" E Tama ! E Tama !
 I kimihiia taua, i rapa taua
 Ki roto i te kore te whiwhia
 Ki roto ki te kore te rawea
 Purupuru mau ake ki te kawai o te huc ra
 Ko kurawaka ano, E tama !
 Kurawaka ka tohia ko to one
 Ko tohi nuku ano, ko tohi rangi ano
 Ka kukunc i Hawaiki-e-i
 E hua ana au, E tama ! I a koc
 Kai te whatu te ki, kai te whatu te rea
 Kai te whatu te tawhia
 Kai te taunga koe, E tama !
 I te tau a to atua a Kahu-kura
 I te Ngarue tiwhana i runga ra
 Kokomo te tauira ki roto
 Te tama a te Ao-aue
 Te tama a te Ao-matangi
 Kai te taunga koe, E tama !
 I te tau a to tipuna, a Ue-nuku
 Ka riro i a Ue-nuku matua
 Ko Marewa-ki-to-Po
 Ka noho i a Pawa matua
 Ko Marewa-ki-te-rangi
 Mo te ngakinga mate, E tama !
 O tana whanau wahine o Maputu ki te rangi
 Ma Hine-i-te-ata ropa nui-e
 Ko Hine-rau-kata-mea
 Ka kore he pahi, ka whakairoa ki te rakau
 Ko tona hokotoru
 Ka kimihiia ki to roto i te ponga taiheru
 Ko to tipuna, ko Wheta-e
 Nga morehu, E tama ! O era matenga
 Me whakangaua ki te riri ko Wai-kokopu-e
 Maikuku te haere, titoia i te ure, kungia i te raho
 Ka patu ki te ihu, ka patu ki te ta
 Ka whakapaea ki uta ra ko te paripari-e
 Ka whiti te mate ki a raua na-i
 Ko enei nga oinga remu ano o enei nga pakeke
 Kauaka hoki ra-e, me kai konei tonu
 Kai nga kikitanga i runga i a Te Kahu
 E whakawheua ana e Poururu
 Whiti ana ko te ra ki tua o Tawauwau
 Tauare te waka i roto i te kopua, kia maru tata ai
 Kai whea ra nga pukepuke i raro te hunuhunu ?
 Kai whea ra nga kainga whakahuahua o ratau ra ?
 Aua ake ra, ko wai ka kite atu
 Tenei ano au kai te ika a te ao
 Mo nga ra i waiho ki oku pakeke
 Mo nga uauatanga ki te pou kia ngaoko
 Engari ano au ko taku umere tangi
 Ki te aroaro o to tipuna, o Te Raro-tawhin

* See "Nga Motootaka" p. 218 for another version of this *oriori*.

Ehara taua i raro nei, no runga taua
 No te hiwi nui-e
 No te maunga tiketike e rero nei te paroro
 Na raro taua, na Rangi-nui-e
 Ka noho i a Kura-pori-e
 I te tamahine a Tamatea-amonga
 Ki puta ki waho ra Uenuku-wharekura
 Mo te whakautunga ki te tarai kahokaho
 Homai he tai te whare i raro nei
 Ko te hokowhitu kuri, ko te hokowhitu tangata
 Tena ka waiho hai hoa riri mo koutou-na-i
 Mate rawa ake ia, E tama !
 To tipuna a Te Whatu-i-apiti
 Kai tona matenga i a E tama !
 I te kauanga inaianei te kore
 Ko koe o kohau atu ra
 Ka whakamanawa mai ki runga ki a Hine-mapuhia
 Na Hine-wai au, na Rakai-te-kura
 Ko te aitanga a Tira, ko Te Hika-rae-roa
 Houa ki a Matariki, te papa o Tawhito
 Ka ora na-i
 Whakatika tonu ake, E tama ! o tipuna
 Whai tonu era ko Whare-mauku-e
 Whai tonu era ko Wairawaha-e
 Piko marire mai Tuputa
 Ka tangohia te kura i Hikurangi
 Ka tangohia i reira, ka whanatu, ka haere
 Ki te kauanga-e, i Hianga-nui ra
 Kia tiwhana te atua nei
 Tiwhana i runga i te umu ra-e
 I taona ai Tu-nui-o-takahanga."

The following *oriori* is said to have been composed by Te Huinga-a-te-ao;—

" E tama ! Poiwaka, e moe nei
 Kati ra ko te moe, e ara ki runga ra
 Tenei ka kikini te au o Tamatea
 Kai roto e huri ana e ranga i to mate
 Tangohia i nga tuke ko toto maringiringi
 Ko toto mataitai—te wai taua rangi
 Na waho, E tama ! Na te tuakiri huri po ki te whenua
 Ko te tohu o te mate kia rawe pai ai
 Te whakatikanga atu ki te kawo a riri
 Ma wai e huki te umu ki Ohope
 Whakaputa, E tama !
 Koi tutuki koe nga toka whakatare
 Toka a Houmea
 Nga taumata tu mai i runga o Emaashe
 Nga one ka takoto i raro o te Ara-aka
 I te Hiku-o-te-tuna
 Ka kitea e koe te one i pao ai taku ika kopuni
 Taku tira kahurangi, taku huruhuru ma ke
 Nana i rore mai i te pu o te tonga."

II.

"Tenei taku mea te rau ninihi nei
 Hoki mai ki a au
 Tenei to rakau ko te tua o te rangi
 Kai roto i te whare
 E taka i te matua kia mau ki te tohu
 Titiro to kanohi kai ou taina
 Kai a Wai-mangeo, kai a Rangi-ahua
 Te Au-ki-Hingarae
 Kq Te Ngaro-ahiahi, ko Rehua-i-te-rangi
 Te Pairi-o-te-rangi
 Ka mene koutou i Te Aro-a-kapa
 Hoaia to maro ko Karo taha te po
 He mata ka whatiwhati, he kore ki muri nei
 Ka haere ai koe i te ahiahi
 Puke turanga o aku toa
 Te inati o Te Peretao, taku waka whakarei
 Tena ka riro, naku i tuku atu
 Nga tai huri waka
 I waho o Te Wharau, i tai Ohiwa
 Rukuhia, E tama ! ko te ruku i te kawau
 Kia ea ake ana nga titahatanga
 I roto Te Korokoro
 Kati, ka tuku atu o koutou kiri tamata
 Ki te wai o te tonga
 O koutou kiri whakarewa
 Ki te wai ngarahu
 Nga tama a Te Maunga
 Nana i patupatu, nana i whakangao
 Ki te te uhi matarau
 Kia pai koutou te takoto i te tahua
 Whakanohoia ra ki runga i te turuturu
 Ki runga ki te atarau na Tu-mata-uenga
 Wanangatia ra te riri a te kuri
 Te riri tangata ware, nohea e toa
 Hiknia, E tama !
 Koia rangi tukua, koia rangi tako
 Te tau o rangi kapiti, te uru a Hangarua
 Ka noa kai muri."

The following is an *oriori* composed by Te Whakamaru :—

"E Iki, e moe nei, kati ra ko te moe
 E ara ki runga ra, ka haere taua
 Ka kake ki runga ra
 Kia teitei ai taua te titiro
 Te whakamaui atu ki waho ra
 Turanga to muri taua, E hine !
 I muri i ou matua, i muri i ou papa
 Ka riro i te mate
 E kore taua e mau te pupuri i konei
 I te ao o te heke.
 Whakatika ki runga ra, poua te tiripou
 Hai toru mo waewae

Tena! E hine! He rakau whakatara nga rau
 Whatiia! kuhua ki te taringa
 Te urupa tuatahi i mua i a koe
 Ko to whaea, ko to tipuna
 Te urupa tuarua i tai o Te Ahi-manawa
 Ko ou matua
 Tena, ma raua koe e pohiri mai
 Ki te kapu o te ringa
 Whai ake ko te waha—Tenei, E hine!
 Tē tiaki ake nei, te tātari ake nei
 I te ra i whakaritea ai e te hunga tokorua
 Hai aranga ake i te moe
 Hai aranga ake i te mate
 Ka ara kai runga, kia toitei ra
 Te hikoi o waewae
 Kei ao ko te ra, kia eke ai koe
 Nga taumata tu mai i te Tore-o-te-ra
 Tena, E hine!
 He tamaiti tane kai runga kai Matawhero
 Mana e homai te kai a te *kuini* (tobacco)
 Te kai maca wawe
 Kati ra! E hine!
 Waiho ake i muri i a koe
 Tika tonu i te hiwi
 Tahuri to taringa ka rangona te iere
 Ka pae te kaharoa kai uta
 Whakahaua atu ra to kawai i a Rua-pani
 Hai tumau mou ki runga ki te whakataki atu
 I to tipuna kai runga i te tahuna
 Mana koe e whakatau mai ki te whare
 E awhi ki tona poho, ki te kiri ngawari
 Ki te kiri ka heke
 Ka heke te kiri o te tangata
 Kati ra! E hine! Ka tutuki te aroha
 Ka hoki mai ki a au."

NOTE.—Mr. Best has supplied several other *Orioris*, but as it is quite impossible for us to translate them without the help of some of the learned men of the tribes to which they belong, we do not print them, but they will be preserved in MSS. for reference.—[EDITOR]

ILLEGITIMACY.

It has often been observed that the Maori had no marriage ceremony. He certainly had no rite such as is performed among us, but still both the *pakurha* and *umu kotore* were ceremonial observances, and of great weight, as will be seen when we find time to describe these peculiar institutions.

Great stress was laid upon the fact of a couple being united according to ancient custom and by means of the orthodox handing over of the woman to the man, *he mea ata whakamoea*, as the Maori puts it. Unless this was done the marriage was not looked

upon as being properly conducted. This refers to the marriage of free persons, in war a man would often take slave women as wives, his right being that of the strong arm.

Any child born as the result of intercourse between a man and woman who had not been *ata whakamoea*, deliberately or properly married, was here looked upon as a bastard (*poriro*, or *moenga-hau*, or *raparere*, also sometimes termed *tiraumoko* or *tama mehameha*, *he mea ponahanaha*, *he mea kokuhu*). There was a considerable amount of stigma attached to the term *poriro*, as is illustrated by many historical tales. For a married woman to bear a *poriro* was also a great reproach to her, and the child might be slain by the woman's father or husband. An old settler on the west coast once told me of an incident which came under his notice many years ago. A native woman had been given as a wife to a European trader, and surprised him shortly afterwards by giving birth to a full blooded native child, which same was a *poriro*. This enraged her father, who appeared to look upon it as a slight cast upon his *pakeha* friend, so he took hold of the infant by its legs and cast it far out into the Manawa-tu river where, of course, it perished.

In this district I have known a man to desert his wife who had given birth to a *poriro*. But, in some cases where a woman has had an illegitimate child prior to marriage, the husbands seem to be very kind to such children, as much so as if they were their own. As a rule natives are also very good to adopted children, or step children. I have known a man to become so attached to a *poriro* of his wife's (born prior to marriage) that he refused to part with it when demanded by its father.

A woman would sometimes have recourse to abortion rather than bring a *poriro* into the world.

In Grey's "Maori Proverbs" the following saying is given as being applied to an illegitimate child :—" *He potiki na te koekoea* "—the offspring of the cuckoo.

WEANING.

To cause a child to stop suckling, women would rub the crushed leaves of the *horopito* tree, or those of the *piki-arero* (clematis), or fronds of the *kiwakiwa* (syn. *kawakawa*) fern, on their breasts. The sap of these, being bitter, would have the desired effect. Some children were allowed to suckle the mother for quite a long time, until after they could run about. The term *more u* was applied to those who suckled long (*ngote roa*).

Usually children are weaned when their teeth appear, and they can eat soft foods, as sweet potatoes. Or, as another puts it, they are weaned when they are seen trying to turn over, *i.e.*, when they are obtaining some command over their bodies. Food for a child just weaned, more especially those weaned early, or whose mother's milk has failed, is prepared in the following manner—potatoes are grated and then squeezed to express the water, which is allowed to stand in the vessel until the starch it contains settles. This is dried and kept. When food is required for the child a portion of this starchy substance is boiled. This is a modern food, of course.



MAORI BIRD NAMES.

BY THE REV. H. W. WILLIAMS, M.A.

THE authorities available on the subject of Maori bird names are Forster*, "Observations made during a Voyage round the World," 1778; Nicholas, "Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand," 1817; Kendall, "Grammar and Vocabulary," 1820; Carnot and Lesson*, "In the Voyage of the Coquille," 1826; Quoy and Gaimard*, "In the Voyage of the Astrolabe," 1830; Yate, "An account of New Zealand," 1835; Polack, "New Zealand," 1838; Dieffenbach, "Travels in New Zealand," 1843; Williams, "Dictionary," 1844; ed. II., 1852—III., 1871—IV. 1892; Taylor, "A Leaf from the Natural History of New Zealand," 1848; ed. II., 1870; Taylor, "Te Ika a Maui," 1855, ed. II. 1870; Hutton, "In Transactions of New Zealand Institute," I., 1868; Potts, "In Transactions," II., III., V., VI., 1869-1873; Hutton, "Official Catalogue of Birds," 1871; Buller, "History of the Birds of New Zealand," 1873, ed. II., 1888; Tregear, "Dictionary," 1891; Hutton and Drummond, "Animals of New Zealand," 1904.

Forster mentions the Maori names of some twenty-five birds, using an orthography which is apt to excite our merriment. But when we take into consideration the difficulties under which he laboured, we must admit that his list is a production of considerable merit. Some of the names he gives are of great interest. For example, *poopooarouro* clearly represents *pupuwaharauoa*, a variant of *pipiwaharauoa*, which I find noted by Colenso on the authority of J. Grindell; his *ghatoitoi* does not, so far as I know, appear again in any published list, but I recently heard *katoitoi* from the Maoris of Wairoa, Hawke's Bay, for *miro australis*. Ten of his names do not appear again till 1843, or even as late as 1873. It is perhaps a little

* The writer has only been able to use these authors by means of quotation in Dieffenbach, Vol. II., pp. 186-201.

difficult to recognize *tiwakawaka* in his *diggowaghwhagh*, or *putangitangi* in *pooa dugghie dugghie*, but otherwise his list can be transcribed into recognized Maori names. I have, however, so far failed to find an equivalent for *kogooaroure*, which he gives for the *pihoihoi*.

Nicholas gives but a short list, and as he states that it is derived from Kendall, it may be passed over without further notice.

Kendall includes in his vocabulary the names of forty-four birds. These are, of course, in the established spelling, except that *d* still appears in places for *r*. He has difficulty with the aspirate, omitting it in many cases, and inserting it in both syllables of *koukou*. In view of this fact his *moeo* probably stands for *moho*. Nine of Kendall's names do not re-appear before 1844, including such well-known birds as *karoro*, *kotuku*, *kuaka*, and *hakoakoa*. He mentions *manu-whakaounga*; this is doubtless the *kokako*, which is known also by the Maoris as *honga*, from its cry. One curious entry is "*pukeko*," a flute made of the bird *keko*. but the bird's name is in its place misprinted KEKE.

The French naturalists may be conveniently considered together, as they consistently use an orthography similar to Kendall's, except that they represent *u* by *ou*, which also does duty for *u*. One interesting group of names from this source is *mohoua*, *momohoua*, *mohouahoua*. Speaking of the first of these, Buller says "The appellation of '*mohoua*' given by M. Lesson as the native name, and selected by him to distinguish the genus, has no existence in the Maori language, and its continued adoption would only perpetuate what is obviously a blunder." (Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, vol. iii. 40.) But Buller evidently failed to notice M. Lesson's system of orthography, and the names should obviously be written *mohua*, etc. Oddly enough, Hutton's "Animals of New Zealand" gives both the generic and Maori names as *mohua*; and I have a letter from Professor Hutton in which he states that he obtained the word from Tregear's Dictionary; but it still appears there as *mohoua*. Their list of twenty-eight names presents some riddles. *Eouhou* is most probably a transcriptional error for *rourou*, that is *ruru*, but I can suggest no solution of *igata* (*riroriro*), and nothing satisfactory for *kaouako*, a shag, or *kokoeou*, the native thrush. I have also not yet obtained confirmation for *hoiho*, a penguin. May it perhaps be a mistake for *hoihoi*?

Yate mentions thirty-three names, twelve of which do not occur in Kendall's vocabulary, with which he must have been familiar. His spelling is as a rule correct, but *pipiwawaroa* (repeated by Dieffenbach) and *kohaperoa* are doubtful, while *tataiato* is most probably a mistake for *tataeto*.

Many of Polack's twenty-three names are misspelled forms from Yate; the only addition to our knowledge being *tikaka*, a hawk, which I have not been able to confirm.

Dieffenbach gives in his second volume a Maori vocabulary derived mainly from Kendall's. This, while containing ten names new to Kendall, omits twenty-five given by him. Of greater interest than the vocabulary is an ornithological article by Mr. G. R. Gray of the British Museum, with what appear to be full quotations of names from all the previous authors except Kendall, and a considerable number supplied by Dieffenbach himself, of which fifteen are now recorded for the first time. Unfortunately Gray misspells several of the names he quotes from Yate and Polack, and must therefore be accepted with reserve when using Dieffenbach's manuscript notes. In illustration it may be mentioned that he gives Yate's *kokorimako* as *kohorimako*, a form which has been perpetuated by Buller. When, then, he gives on Dieffenbach's authority *tuturuata* (charadrius), it is fair to assume that Dieffenbach may have written *tuturuatu* correctly. And this raises the question as to whether *tutumata* (himantopus), a curious form, also copied by Buller, may not have been misread from the original manuscript *tuturuatu*. It is a matter for regret that, besides the birds omitted from Kendall, Dieffenbach has also omitted from his vocabulary more than twenty of those which he supplied to Gray, thus depriving us of a means of checking mistakes of this nature. But it is open to question whether Dieffenbach's ear was always correct. For instance he gives in both list and vocabulary *tierawaki*, which should certainly be *tiraweke*. He also gives in the vocabulary the form *popokatea*, which has strangely fascinated subsequent writers. This form will be found in Buller (I. p. 55) where it is evidently a misprint, as it is not given in the list of names at the head of the chapter, and the author informed me last year that the name is undoubtedly *popokotea*. *Popokatea* appears to rest on the authority of Mr. Elsdon Best, in Transactions of New Zealand Institute, xxxvi., p. 120; but Mr. Best tells us that he wrote *popokotea*, which is the only form he has heard from the Maoris. Another variant of the same nature is *kohaperoa*, used by Yate for *kohoperoa*, while *koheperoa* is given by Gray on the authority of Miss Stone. Taylor, who uses Dieffenbach freely, and is not always critical in discarding misprints from other writers, does not accept either of these forms, and we may therefore safely reject them.

Dieffenbach gives in all eighty-one names, these with the ten omitted from Kendall's vocabulary, bring up the total number recorded in 1843 to ninety-one, the majority of which had been identified.

The first edition of Williams's dictionary was published in 1844, but had been compiled some years before, and was probably printed before Dieffenbach's work had reached New Zealand. It is therefore quite independent of the original matter in that work. The dictionary recorded the names of eighty-six birds, of which thirty-five are new, bringing up the total to 126. These new names call for little comment, but the inclusion in the dictionary of both *pioioi* and *pihoihoi* raises the question as to whether the omission of the aspirate in some of the earlier works was always an error. *Kokako* was misprinted *kokoka*, and this was copied by Taylor in his "Leaf of Natural History," though he had already in the list *kokako* correctly spelled. The second edition of the dictionary had six additional names, the third another twenty-four, while the total number in the fourth is 127.

Taylor's "Leaf" contains a list of 176 bird names, but bears evidence of too hasty compilation. Previous lists were freely drawn upon, and not a few errors corrected, but the original matter contains many obviously incorrect forms, and is further disfigured by numerous misprints. Three anonymous editors added in a second edition six new names and several misprints. The "Leaf" was followed seven years later by the Author's larger work "To Ika a Maui." This, in a list of some seventy-nine names, corrects some of the mistakes of the "Leaf," and adds fifteen new names. A second edition of this work adds the names of three other birds.

Hutton gave in 1868 an interesting list of thirty-five native birds from the Great Barrier, and three years later he edited the Official Catalogue of native birds. Unfortunately many of the sixty-nine Maori names in the latter work are misprinted.

In his interesting series of papers on our birds in the early volumes of the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, Potts uses fifty-five Maori names. Some of these add to our knowledge, but there are many misprints.

Buller's History is, of course, the store-house of information on the subject. In the second edition he gives no less than 235 Maori names, but a careful perusal of the list leads to the conclusion that not a few have been accepted by him, which are open to question.

Tregear's dictionary has 265 bird names, which may be assumed to give us thirty additional to those used by Buller.

The "Animals of New Zealand" has between eighty and ninety names, but can hardly be expected to provide any not yet recorded.

It will be clear from the foregoing remarks that the matter offered by these writers varies much in amount and value, and that the use of it presents some interesting problems. All the lists are subject, in

greater or less degree, to errors of ear, producing misspellings in the first instance, and errors of eye, resulting further in faulty transcriptions and misprints. In the attempt to eliminate these errors, the fact must be born in mind that each writer is not, in every instance, an independent authority. For example, Dieffenbach was indebted to the work of his predecessors, while Taylor, Buller, and Tregear have in turn drawn upon Dieffenbach.

There is abundant evidence that, in many cases, names are current for the same bird which differ by a single letter, as *honga* and *honge*, names for the *kokako*, *nonoroheke*, and *nonoroheko*, Tuhoe synonyms for the *riroriro*, or *piwaiwaka* and *tiwaiwaka* for the fantail. The existence of these variants makes the detection of an error in a name often a matter of extreme difficulty.

The ancient Maori was a close observer of nature, but was not skilled in the nice distinctions which appeal to a trained ornithologist. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that some confusion has arisen in the identification of species. Where names have been obtained in recent years the dictum of a single Maori is by no means final. The Maori of to-day has lost the knowledge of his forefathers, and often, in his desire to oblige, will give some name that he knows, rather than cause disappointment by confessing his ignorance. In any case the same name will often be applied to different birds in different districts, and only a few birds such as the *huia* are universally known by the one name.

With regard to the form of the names, no general prevailing characteristic has been noted. Many, as might be expected, are onomatopoeic in form. Not a few appear again as names of fish, and one or two as names of trees. The reduplication of a dissyllable occurs probably as frequently here as in any other branch of the vocabulary, but does not as a rule carry with it any differentiation of meaning. Nearly a hundred names of this form have been noted, in about sixteen cases the unreduplicated form is found also. *Parerareru* is said to be applied in the north to a small *kuaka*, *pateketeke* Buller gives as the name of the crested grebe, and *poreterete* is given in the dictionary as a variety of duck; the simple form in the latter case being a parakeet, and in the other two a duck. I know of no other case where the longer form denotes a different bird.

Much valuable assistance has been received from Mr. Elsdon Best and the Rev. Mohi Turei; Mr. R. H. Matthews, and Mr. G. H. Davies have also kindly supplied names and information. Thanks are tendered to these gentlemen and to other friends, English and Maori, who have helped from time to time.

The subjoined list is given in the belief that it will prove interesting, and the writer will be glad if any of his readers can furnish him with any additional names, or other information bearing upon the subject. The scientific names are taken from "The Animals of New Zealand," which follows the British Museum list. A large number of sea birds mentioned in that work have no Maori names assigned to them, and the identification of the remainder appears far less certain than is the case with the land birds. Discarded forms have been placed in brackets in some cases, and doubtful ones marked with a query.

CLASSIFIED LIST.

1. *Glaucopsis wilsoni* and *cinerea*, (North Island and South Island)

crow.

honga (onga)	kokako	pakara	(manu-whakaounga)
honge (onge)			

2. *Turnagra tanagra* and *crassirostris*, (N.I. and S.I.) thrush.

korohea	piopio	tiutiukata	 ? (koko eou)
koropio			

3. *Pseudogerygone igata*, grey warbler.

hirorirori	koriroriro	rirerire	totororire
horirerire	nonoroheke	riroriro	 ? (igata)
korirerire	nonoroheko		

4. *Petroeca toitoi* and *macrocephala*, (N.I. and S.I.) tit.

homiromiro	miromiro	pimirumu	piropiro
komiromiro	mirumiru	pingirungiru	tane-te-waiora
mauiopotiki	ngirungiru	pipitori	tarapo (f)
mimiro	pimiromiro	pirangirangi	toitoi

5. *Miro australis* and *albifrons*, (N.I. and S.I.) robin.

hatoitoi	katoitoi	tataruwai	totoireka
kakaruwai	mokora (f)	titiketeketemanawa	
karuwai	pihere (piere)	titiwahanui	totoara (totowara)
karuae }	pitoitoi	toitoireka	toutou
			toutouwai

6. *Rhipidura flabellifera* and *fuliginosa*, pied and black fantail.

hirairaka	pirakaraka	tiakaaka	titakataka
hitakataka	pitakataka	tieaka ?	titirairaka
hiwaiwaka	piwaiwaka	tirairaka	tiwaiwaka
hiwakawaka	piwakawaka	tirakaraka	tiwakawaka
pirairaka	tiaiaaka	tiraureka	

7. *Heteralocha acutirostris*.

huia

8. *Creadion carunculatus*, saddleback.

urourou	tiekerero	tirauweke	tiraweke
tieko			

9. *Sphenoeacus punctatus*, fernbird.

koroatito	kotata	mata	nako
korowatito	kukurutoki	matata	toetoe

10. *Certhiparus albicapillus*, (N.I.), white-head and11. *Mohua ochrocephala*, (S.I.) bush canary.

hihipopokera	momohua	tataeko	tatangaeko
hihipopokero	popokotea (popokatea)	tataeto (tataiato)	tatarangaeko
hore	popotea	tatahore	tatariheko
mohua (mohoua)	poriporihewa	tataihore	upokotea
mohuahua	poupoutea		

12. *Finschia novae zealandiae*, brown creeper.

pipipi	pipirihika	titirihika	toitoi
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13. *Anthus novae zealandiae*, ground lark.

hioi	picioi	whaioio	... ? (kogocaroure)
pihoihoi	whioi	kataitai	

14. *Zosterops caeruleascens*, blight bird.

hiraka	karu-patone	pihipihi	tauhou
iringatau	notingitingi	poporohe	whiorangi
kanohi-mowhiti			

15. *Prosthemadera novae zealandia*, parson bird.

koko	pikari (young)	takaha (m)	tute (m)
kukari (young)	pitui (young)	teoteo (f)	tui

16. *Pogonornis cincta*, stitch bird.

hihi	kohihi	matakioke	tiheora
hihi-matakioke (f)	kotihe	motihetihe	tihewai (f)
hihi-paka (m)	kotihetihe	tihe	tihewera (m)
hihi-pakawera	kotihewera	tihe-kioke (f)	tiora

17. *Anthornis melanura*, bell-bird.

kekerematua (m)	kokoromako ?	korihako	rearea
kerekorematatu	komako	korimako	titapu (f)
kohimako	komako-huariki	koromako (?)	titimako
kohoimako (?)	komamako	kotaiahu	totoaireka (f)
kokomako	kopaopao	kukari (young)	tutumako
kokorimako	kopara	mako	
kokorohimako (m)	koparapara	makomako	

18. *Xenicus longipes*, green wren.

huru-pounamu	matuhituhi	piwauwau	puano
matuhi			

19. *Acanthidositta chloris*, bush wren.

kikimutu	kohurehure	momoutu	tapahipare (m)
kikipounamu	korurerure (f)	moutuutu	tititipounamu
kikirimutu	kotikotipae	pihipihi	toirua
kikitara	momotawai	piripiri	tokepiripiri

20. *Halcyon vagans*, kingfisher.

kotare	kotaretare	kotarepopo	warchenga
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21. *Chalcococcyx lucidus*, shining cuckoo.

nakonako	pipiwharauoa	piripiriwharauoa	wharauoa
pipiauroa	pipiriwharauoa	pupuwharauoa	whenakonako

22. *Urodynamicus taitensis*, long-tailed cuckoo.

kawekawea	kochopera	kohepera ?	kokoea
koekoea	kohapera ?	kohopera	kuekuu

23. *Nestor meridionalis*, parrot.

kaka	perehere	tataapopo (m)	tarariki (f)
koriwhai			

The following distinguishing epithets are applied to varieties of kaka :—

huripa	korako	nihonui	reko
karorotea	kura	nihoriki	tamaire
karorouri	motarua	pipiwharauoa	tuauro
kereru			

The leader in a flight is termed *kaca* or *tiaka*. Decoy birds are known as *mokai*, *perua*, or *whakahope*, according to the method employed.

24. *Nestor notabilis*, mountain parrot.

kea	keha
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25. *Cynanorhamphus novae zealandiae*, parakeet.

kakariki	kawariki	porerete ?*	tatariki ?
kakawaiariki	kawatero	powhaitere	torete
kakawariki	porete		

26. *Stringops habroptilus*, ground parrot.

kakapo	kakatarapo	tarapo	tarepo ?
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27. *Nesierax novae zealandiae*, sparrow-hawk.

kacaca	kaieio	karearea	kauua
kaiaia	kakarapiti (m)	karewarewa	tawaka ?*

28. *Nesierax australis*, bush hawk.

As No. 27 and karewarewa-tara

29. *Circus gouldi*, hawk.

kahu	kahu-korako	kahu-pango	tikaka ?
kahu-komokomo	kahu-maiepa	manutahae	

30. *Sceloglaux albifacies*, laughing owl.

hakoko ?	ruru-whekau	whekau	whekaukau
kakaha			

* Williams' Dictionary, duck.

31. *Ninox novae zealandiae*, morepork.

koukou	pehopeho	ruru-peho	rurururu
peho	ruru		

32. *Hemiphaea novae zelandiae*, pigeon.

kereru	kupupa	rupe (large)	tarariki (small)
kuku			

33. *Coturnix novae zealandiae*, quail.

koikoiarcke	kokoreke	koutareke	tareke
koitareke	koreke		

34. *Hypotaenidia philippensis*, landrail.

katatai	moho-pango	moho-tatai	ohomaui
moho-katatai	moho-patatai	moho-tupereru	patatai
moho-koreke	moho-pereru	motarua?	popotai
moho-kura	moho-ririwai	oho	puohotata
konini?			

35. *Calanus modestus*, Mangare rail.

matirakahu

36. *Nesolimnas dieffenbachii*, Dieffenbach's rail.

moeriki

37. *Ocydromus carli* etc., woodhen.

weka	wekaweka	hoa
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38. *Ocydromus brachypterus*, black woodhen.

weka-pango

39. *Porzana affinis*, marsh rail.

kareke	kokoreke	koreke	kotoreke
koitareke			

40. *Porzana tabuensis*, swamp rail.

kuwetō	puweto (pueto)	puwetoweto	totoriwai?
putoto			

41. *Porphyrio melanotus*, swamp-hen.

pakura	pukeko	rauhara
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42. *Notornis hochstetteri*.

moho	takahe!	takahea	tokohea?
mohokeo			

43. *Herodias timoriensis*, white heron.

kotuku

44. *Demigretta sacra*, blue heron.

kakatai	matuku-moana	matuku-tai	matuku-waitai
matuku	matuku-nuia	matukutuku	tikaka

45. *Ardetta pusilla*, little bittern.
kaoriki
46. *Botaurus poeciloptilus*, bittern.
hurepo kaka matuku matuku-kaka
huroto kautuku matuku-hurepo
47. *Haematopus longirostris*, oyster-catcher.
torea torea-tai
48. *Haematopus unicolor*, red-bill.
torea-pango
49. *Ochthodromus obscurus*, dotterel.
pukunui turiwhati tuturiwhati tuturuatu
takaikaha turiwhatu tuturiwhatu turuwhatu
takahikahi turuatu tuturiwhatu-puku- tuturuwhatu
takaikai turuturuwhatu nui
50. *Ochthodromus bicinctus* banded dotterel.
pohowera
51. *Thinornis novae zealandiae*, sand-piper.
kohutapu kukuruatu tuturuatu
52. *Anarhynchus frontalis*, wry-bill.
ngutupare
53. *Himantopus leucocephalus*, stilt.
poaka turituripourewa tuturipourewa tutumata?
torea turuturupourewa tuturupourewa
54. *Himantopus picatus*, pied stilt.
poaka
55. *Himantopus melas*, black stilt.
kaki tuarahia torea-pango
56. *Limosa novae zealandiae*, godwit.
hakakao kuaka parerarerora (small) ririwaka
kakao kura rakakao tarakakao
57. *Tringa canutus*, knot.
huahou
58. *Megalestris antarctica*, sea-hawk.
hakaokao hakuakua
59. *Hydroprogne caspia*, Caspian tern.
kahawai tara-a-punga taranui

60. *Sterna frontalis* etc., terns.

tara

61. *Sterna nereis*, little tern.

taraiti

tarateo

62. *Larus dominicanus*, black-billed gull.

karoro

kotingotingo (young)

punua (young)

toie (young)

koiro (young)

ngoio (young)

63. *Larus scopulinus*, red-billed gull.

akiaki

karehakoā

makora

tarapunga

hakora

katate

taketake

64. *Garrodia nereis*, grey-backed storm petrel.

reoreo

65. *Puffinus gavia*, rain bird.

hakoakoa

pakaha

The general name for the puffinus is *hakoakoa*, or *hakuakua*.66. *Puffinus tenuirostris* and *griseus*, mutton-birds.

hakoakoa

koakoa

titi

totorore

hakuakua

oi

hakeke (large)

takakau (large)

hako? (large)

ngungu (small)

hakoko (large)

67. *Puffinus cinereus*, brown petrel.

kuia

68. *Majaqueus parkinsoni*, black petrel.

kuia

taiko

toanui

69. *Oestrelata macroptera*, grey-faced petrel.

oi

70. *Oestrelata cooki*, Cook's petrel.

titi

71. *Prion banksi*, etc., whalebirds.

hakora

tarapunga

totorore

whiroia

taketake

72. *Diomedea exulans*, albatross.

toroa

73. *Thalassarche melanophrys*, mollymawk.

toroa

74. *Phoebastria fuliginosa*, sooty albatross.

toroa-pango

75. *Catarrhactes pachyrhynchus*, crested penguin.

pokotiwaha

tawaki

76. *Megadyptes antipodum*, yellow-eyed penguin.
hoiho?

77. *Endyptula minor*, blue penguin.
korora

78. *Sula serrat*, gannet.
karake takupu toroa-haoika
takapu? tataki toroa-horoika

79. *Phalacrocorax carbo*, etc., shags.
kawau koau

80. *Phalacrocorax varius*, pied shag.
karuhiruhi kawau

81. *Phalacrocorax brevirostris*, white-throated shag.
aroarotea kawau-paka tooteo

82. *Phalacrocorax punctatus*, spotted shag.
parekareka

83. *Podiceps cristatus*, crested grebe.
kaha patekoteke

84. *Podiceps rufipectus*, little grebe.
koikoipia taratitomohi? tokitokipia weiweia
taihoropi tekotekopia tongitongipia weweia
taratimoho tokitoki totokipia whirowhiro

85. *Casarca variegata*, paradise duck.
puputangi-a-tama putangitangi putangitangi-a-toa putakitaki
puputangi-a-toa putangitangi-a-tama

86. *Anas superciliosa*, grey duck.
maunu parera topatopa turuki?

87. *Nettion castaneum*, grey teal.
pohoriki tete tete-moroiti

88. *Elasmonetta chloris*, brown duck.
pateke tarawhatu tete tetewhero

89. *Spatula rhynchotis*, spoon-bill duck.
kahoho kuruwhengu pateke tete
kuruwhengi papaunguungu putaitai wetawetangu

90. *Nyroca australis*, white-winged duck.
karakahia

91. *Fuligula novae zealandiae*, black teal.
kaiharopio papango puakiaki tetepango
matapouri parera-matapouri raipo titiporangi
matamatapouri

92. *Hymenolaemus malacorhynchus*, blue duck.
whio (wio) whiorau
93. *Apteryx mantelli* (brown).
kiwi kiwikiwi kiwi-nui kiwi-parure
94. *Apteryx australis* (S. I.).
kiwi rowi tokoweka (totoeka)
95. *Apteryx oweni* (grey)
kiwi-pukupuku
96. *Apteryx haasti* (large spotted).
kiwi-karuwai roa roaroa
97. *Phaethon rubicauda*, red-tailed tropic bird.
amokura
98. *Dinornis*, sp. var.
moa
99. *Tachypetes aquila*, great frigate bird ?
hakuwai (hakuai) hokioi (okioi) hokiwai
100. *Platalea melanorhyncha*, royal spoonbill.
kotuku-ngutupapa
- | | | | |
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RUATAPU—E TUPUNA MAORI RONGO NUI—
MA TONA AU URI I TEIA PA ENUA.
NA ISERAELA TAMA, I AITUTAKI.

CONTRIBUTED BY MAJOR J. T. LARGE, MANGAIA ISLAND.

(Expressed in the Aitutaki dialect.)

KO te akapapa-ranga teia i a Ruatapu mei roto mai i a Iro-nui
Maoata mei runga mai mei Taputapu-atea:—

Nga Iro-nui Maoata i takoto ki a Te Koao-o-te-rangi
Anau tana ko Tai-te-ariki
Anau tana ko Taitoe
Anau tana ko Rua-raki
Anau tana ko E-panui
Anau tana ko Tevarikura
Anau tana ko Nga-maru-e-rua
Anau tana ko Tangiia
Anau tana ko Mотор
Anau tana ko Uanuku-rakeiora
Anau tana ko Ruatapu

Kua rarangoa a Ruatapu i te vaka, tera te ingoa i te vaka, ko te
Kare-roa-i-tai, ka tere mai ki raro nei mei runga mai mei Taputapu-
atea, kua tere mai ma tona vaka tangata, kua tere mai ki Avarua,
kua noo ki uta ma toona vaka tangata, kua noo a Ruatapu ki te vaine
ki a Uanuku-tapu, anau ko Tama-iva, kua vao i a ia ei ariki ei kai i
te maroro i tei reira enua. Kua tere a ia ma tona vaka tangata ki
raro ki Tonga, kua noo ki uta i te enua ma tona vaka tangata. Kua
takoto a Ruatapu ki te vaine ki a Tapotu-ki-Tonga, anau ko Moenau.
E kia pakari a Moenau kua akaunga mai a Ruatapu i a ia ki Avarua
kia kai kapiti raua i te maroro. Nga te kite ra o Tama-iva ka ngaa te
kainga i te maro-kura a ka unga atu ra i te teina kia aere ki Ngapu-
toru. Tere atura a Moenau ki Akatoka-manava, kia tae a ia
ki runga i te enua kua takoto a ia ki te vaine ki a Te Kau-mar-
kura, anau a Te Au-kura-ariki i Mauketau ma te kai a Moenau i
te maroro i tei reira enua. E tae ki tetai tuatau kua mate a

Moenau ki te Nati-Pui ki Avaavaroa, te noora te tamaiti i runga i te enua. E tae ake ra ki tetai tuatau kua tere mai ra a Ruatapu mei raro mai mei Tonga ma tona vaka tangata i te aru i a Moenau ki Avarua. Kia tae a ia ki uta e ui atu ei a Ruatapu ki a Tama-iva "Teiea a Moenau?" Tera ta Tama-iva, "Kua akaunga e au ki Ngaputoru ei kai i te maroro i tei reira nga enua o tatou." Kua karanga atu ra a Ruatapu, "Kua mate to teina." Tere atu ra a Ruatapu ma tona vaka tangata i te aru i a Moenau ki Ngaputoru. E tae atu ra a ia ki Akatoka-manava kake atu ra a ia ki uta ma tona vaka tangata. Kia noo a ia ki runga i te enua e kite ei a ia i tetai tamaiti, e ui ei a Ruatapu "Ngaai koe?" E karanga atu ei te tamaiti "Nga Moenau," e akatau ia tona tutu e tutu Moenau. E ui ei a Ruatapu, "Teiea a Moenau?" Tera tana "Kua mate ki te Nati-Pui ki Avaavaroa." E ui atu ei a Ruatapu, "Koai toou ingoa?" Tera ta te tamaiti, "Ko te Aukura-ariki ki Mauketau."

I reira kua kimi a Ruatapu i te ravenga ka ta a ia i a Mauke ei ono i te tai o Moenau. Tera tana ravenga i rave, kua tipupu a ia i te niu i te enua, kua tari ki runga i te ngai teitei, e kia tae ki te ra tamakianga kua uriia te niu ki runga i to Mauke, kua pou te tangata i te mate, kua vao i te mokopuna i a Te Aukura ei ariki ki runga i te enua. Tere atu ra a Ruatapu ki Enua-manu ma tona vaka tangata, e kia tae a ia ki Enua-manu, ko Renga te ariki i tei reira enua. Tera tana rare i tuku ki runga i tona tangata e kurukuru i te ava i Taunganui. I tuku ei te ariki i taua rare ra ki a Ruatapu e tona vaka tangata. Tera ta te ariki i rave ko te angai i a Ruatapu e tona vaka ki te manga. Kia rave a Ruatapu i taua rare ra e roa kua pou te manga i runga i te enua. Kua tuoro a Ruatapu, "Taa ko taku ana" Tera ta te ariki, "E rave a Renga ki te aa?" I reira kua akaruke a Ruatapu i taua rare ra. Kua akaruke katoa i te ingoa i te vaka ia Te-kare-roa-ki-Enua-manu, kua tuoro i te ingoa i te vaka ko Tueu-moana. Tere atu ra ma tona vaka tangata ki te enua. E tae atu ra ki uta kua tuoro io ra a Ruatapu i te ingoa i te enua ko Manu-enua. Kua noo io ra a ia ma tona vaka tangata, kua tanu a Ruatapu i te rakau e nui; tera te ingoa ko te Tui-a-Rongo. Kua tanu katoa i te tiare, tera te ingoa ko Ara-vaine. Kua tuku katoa i nga manu ki runga i te enua e Kura te ingoa i tetai, e Moo tetai. Kua noo ratou ki runga i te enua e roa, kua tere mai a Ruatapu e tona vaka tangata ki Ara-ura. Kia tae mai ki runga i te enua, i uru mai a ia i te ava ko Kopua-onu. Kua noo a ia ki runga i te tua kirikiri kua okaoka i te niu nga reira i tuoro i ai te ingoa i tei reira matara ko te *okaokaanga i te niu a Ruatapu*. I reira aere mai ra a ia ki teia pae i te motu, kua tuoro i tei reira matara, ko Kai-unga. Kua tanu i te tiare, no reira i karangaia i e, ko te tiare a Ruatapu. Kua kake mai ki uta i te enua

kua akatu i te "ma" ko Paenga-manuiri, ka tuoro i te ingoa i tetai matara ko Vai-tiare, akatu i te marae ko Au-matangi. Kua noo ki runga i te enua, takoto i te vaine ki a Tutunoa, kua anau te tama ko Kirikava, kake i te tua ko Te Arau-enua, kake i te tua ko Te Urutupu-ariki, kake i te tua ko Tou-keta. Ei reira kua rave raua i a raua kupenga; e tuturua ta Ruatapu, e kupenga roa ta Kirikava; ma te kai kino i te ika i a raua kupenga, kare te tamaiti e kite ana i te metua ngaa atu ra te marae. Kua aere te tamaiti kua akatu i tona marae ki Aputu. Kua noo te metua ki Aumatangi e roa, kare rai a Kirikava i kauraro ki a Ruatapu. E i reira kua akaruke a Ruatapu i tei reira ngai, kua aere mai ki teia pae i te enua (Arutanga) kua noo a ia ki Ruatea. Te noo ra a Taruia i Orongo kua rave io ra a Ruatapu i tana Piri e vaka kopae, kua akaetete io rai te upe ki roto e te roimata, kua tuku mai ra ki Orongo. Kia kite ra a Taruia tera tana autara, "Koai ra teia ariki mana e, e tau mai i te Upoko enua nei." Kua akaunga a Taruia i te tiki. Tera ta Taruia autara ki te tangata i tikina'i. "Auraka e nga tai mai i te aere ka pou i to Rongo e nga te maunga mai te aere." Kua aere mai ra a Ruatapu ki Orongo, kua nookapiti io ra raua ko Taruia. Kia tae ki tetai tuatau kua tuku io ra a Ruatapu i tetai Piri, ka pa i te vai i Rierie e kua pa io ra a Taruia kare i mou te vai kua potopoto te ao o Taruia. Kare rai i mou i reira kua tuoro a Taruia ki a Ruatapu kia pa a ia i te vai, kua mou te vai ki roto i te enua, nga tei reira Piri i akakite e, ka peke a Taruia ki te moana ka mou a Ruatapu ki te enua, kua noo raua e roa, kua karanga a Ruatapu, ka rarangoa vaka raua; kua oti to tetai e to tetai; tera ta Ruatapu ki a Taruia: "Ko au te nga mua ki Avarua ei tuoro mai i a koe." Tera ta Taruia: "Auaka; okotai o taua aerenga." Kare rai a Ruatapu i akarongo, kua aere rai. Kia aere a Ruatapu ei runga i Rau-kuru-aka, kua tatomo i te vaka. Kia akatau atu a Ruatapu i a Taruia te aere mai ra, o vatata mai ki te pae i a ia, kua tuoro a Ruatapu, "Oro mai e taku taeko ka akakau i taku vaka." Tera ta Taruia. "Akakau ake kia aere au ki Avarua ei tuoro mai i a koe." Kia ngaro atu te ira i te vaka o Taruia, kua takauri a Ruatapu i tana vaka kua oki mai ki runga i te enua, kua noo ki Orongo, ki runga i te au ariki. Kia tae a Taruia ki Avarua kua tiaki mai i a Ruatapu, kare i tae, no te roa kua tarotokaka a Taruia, kua peke te ariki i te enua i a Ruatapu. Kia oki mai a Taruia ki uta nei i Tapu-e-tuki mei te Avarua, tera tana tuoro "Ko au teia, ko Taruia i maki tonono ariki," Kare i rauka kua tu to Ruatapu vaka tangata kua tamaki, e peke atu ra ki te moana tere atu ra ki te Ra-pukatea. Kua noo a Ruatapu ki runga i te enua nei, ko ia te ariki.

Kia mate a Ruatapu kua kake tana tamaiti ko Kirikava ki runga i te marokura; anau ta Kirikava ko Maevarangi, anau tana ko Maeva

kura, anau tana ko Maine-marae-rua. Kua tere a Maine-marae-rua ki Avarua, i te rere tane i a Tama-iva, kare i raveia e Tama-iva. Kia noo a Maine-marae-rua i Avarua, ko Maeva-kura te ariki i runga i te enua. Takoto ia e Te Ii-matatapu ki a Maine-marae-rua, kua anau ko Maro-una; takoto a Maro-una ki a Ratia, anau a Tane, kake i te tua ko te Tauu-o-te-rangi. Kia tae mai Te Aitu ki runga i te enua nei, kua peke atu ra a Maeva-kura ki te Rangiatea, kua tere a Tu-oa-rangi ki Avarua, kua reo iku a Maeva, "E aere koe, kua anau tama a Maine-marae-rua, e akakite atu kia aere mai ei ranga i taku ua, e karanga atu kua peke a Maeva ki te Rangiatea." Kia tae a Tu-oa-rangi ki Avarua, kua akakite a ia ki a Maine-marae-rua i te reo iku o Maeva; i reira kua tiki a Maine-marae-rua i te tama i a Maro-una e akakite i te reo iku o Maeva. Tera ta Maro-una, "Ka rarangoa pai," Tera ta te metua vaine, "Me ka rarangoa pai koe, E taku tama! ka aere atu koe kua popo te ivi o Maeva ki te Rangiatea, e aaki koe i tetai manga i to pare kotaa ei oko i te vaka o Angai-nui. Kua aaki a Maro-una i tetai manga i tana pare, kua aere ki a Angai-nui i te oko i te vaka, kua akatika a Angai-nui; tera tana autara ki a Maro-una." E rave koe i to taua vaka, auraka e ngaro te ingoa a te "Mata o Te-koviriviri." Kia peke mai te vaka ki tana rima e kua timata a ia i te tamaki ki runga i te enua, kia rauka tetai atu toa nona kare rai e toa i kitea, mari ra ko te tama ko Tane. Tuku ki roto i te pai ma te aonga pai, tere atura ki A'ua'u kua ta ki Au'a'u, kua kitea te toa ki reira ko Ue. Kia oki te atu toa ma te aonga vaka ki runga i te pai e rakei ei i te pai ki te rau ti, no reira i tapaia i te ingoa ki a Rauti-para-ki A'ua'u. Kua tere atu ra ki Enua-manu, kua ta ki reira kua rauka te toa ko Tara-apai, kua apai ki roto i te pai, kua tere ki raro ki Varekao (Niue) kua ta ki reira kua kitea te toa ko Titia, kua apai ki roto i te pai. Kua tere mai ki Ara-ura. Kia aere mai i te moana kua aravei i nga tangata, ko Koro-ki-matangi e Koro-ki-vananga, e aru i to raua metua i a Ta-vake.

Tera ta Maro-una ki a raua; "Aere mai ei ta i taku taua." Tera ta raua, "Aere atu tena atu maua." Kua tae mai ki Ara-ura nei, i tae mai i te po, kua uru mai ki uta nei, kua tuku i te akamou i te vaka ki Vaiora, tera ta Maro-una ki te atu toa ka tuku te paro, kua manamanaia e Maro-una Te Aitu kia parongia e te moe. I reira kua aere mai tetai toa ki uta i te aa i te upoko o te Aitu; ko te upoko i teimaa kua tipu ia, ko te upoko i mama kua akaruke a ia i te reira. Oku atu ra a ia ki runga i te pai ma te apai i te au upoko o te atu toa o Te Aitu tei tipuia e ia. Kua akara a Maro-una, tera ta Maro-una, "Ka aere ki uta i taua po ra." Apai atura i te vaka ki uta, nga raro i te kauvai i a Tangoro, ko te veu ra i te kauvai i a Tangoro. No reira i tuoroia'i ki a Vaieu, ko te veu i te vaevae o te atu toa o

Maro-una. Taomi atu ra i te vaka ki uta i te kauvai, kua aere atu ra ratou ki uta i a Maeva, kua akara a Maro-una i a Maeva. Tera ta Maeva, "Koai teia?" "Ko au ko Maro-una." "Ngaai a Maro-una i kave mai ki konei?" E karanga atu ei a Maro-una. "Kare koe i iku autara ake ana ki a Tu-oa-rangi?" Kua kite i reira a Maeva e ko Maro-una, e aue ei a Maeva ki runga i te mokopuna, e angai ei i a ratou ki te manga, ki te mai e te akari. Kua raoa a Tara e te vaanga akari, e karanga'i te atu toa ki a Maro-una, "Ka ta i te Aitu i taua po." Tera ta Maro-una. "Auraka, kia ngaro te apeu moana ka ta ai." E tae ki te toru ra kare i maae te ata kua mata ki te angai kake te ra kua ta; te ta atu nei a Maro-una ma te atu toa i runga i te enua, te ta mai ra a Koro-ki-matangi e Koro-ki-vananga i runga i te akau, i tei topa atu ki te moana. E kia pou Te Aitu, tera ta Maro-una rare e tipupu i te au kotinga a'oa i runga i te enua. Ko te ariki ia i tuaia'i te enua, kua akanoo i te atu toa ki runga i te enua i a Tane, e Tara, e Ue, e Titia, ma te aonga vaka. Takoto a Maro-una ki te vaine ki a Uanuku-kaiatia, ki roto i a Ru, anau a Te Aukura: takoto a Te Aukura ki te vaine ki a Te Akariki-o-te-rangi ki roto i te Ru, anau a te Tupu-o-rongo. E toru puna a te Tupu-o-rongo ko te Uirei ariki, ko Katapu-ki-te-marae, ko Pure-upoko.

[This genealogy has already been published in connection with my paper "The Story of Iro" which appeared in JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, vol. XII., p. 144.—J.T.L.]

RUATAPU — A CELEBRATED MAORI ANCESTOR — AND HIS COOK ISLANDS DESCENDANTS.

TRANSLATED BY MAJOR J. T. LARGE, MANGAIA ISLAND.

THIS is the line of ancestry of Ruatapu, a descendent of Ironui-ma-Oata, who came from the Eastward, from Taputapuatea:—

Ironui ma Oata married Te Koao-o-te-rangi, who begat Tai-te-ariki, who begat Taitoe, who begat Ruaraki, who begat Epanui, who begat Tevarikura, who begat Nga-maru-e-rua, who begat Tangiia,* who begat Mоторо, who begat Uanuku-rakeiora, who begat Ruatapu.

* Tangiia flourished in Rarotonga about the year 1250, as shown by many genealogical descents from him.—[ED.]

Once upon a time Ruatapu fitted out his great canoe *Kare-roa-i-tai*, and made sail to these Western Islands from *Taputapu-atea*,* he and his ship's company. They came to *Avarua* (*Rarotonga*) where they remained some time. Ruatapu married a woman of the land, *Ua-nuku-tapu*, by whom he had a son *Tama-iva*, whom he left at *Rarotonga* to become an *Ariki*, and eat the flying fish of that island. Ruatapu and his ship's company, then sailed away to the westward, to *Tonga*, and sojourned there a lengthy period; Ruatapu taking to himself another wife named *Tapotu-ki-Tonga*, who bore him a son whom he named *Moenau*. When the boy had grown up to man's estate, his father sent him to *Avarua* to join *Tama-iva* in eating the flying fish of that land (*i.e.* to share his authority); but *Tama-iva* had no desire to share his rank or privileges with his younger brother. So he sent him off to *Nga-pu-toru* (ancient name of the three windward islands of the Cook Group—*Atiu*, *Mauke*, and *Mitiaro*), *Moenau* went to *Akatoka-manava* (*Mauke*) where he married *Te Rau-marokura*. A son was born to them, *Te Au-kura*—who became *Ariki* of *Mauke-tau*. *Moenau* remained there and feasted on the flying fish of the land; but ere long he was killed (by the *Mauke* people) at *Avaava-roa* with a snare for catching sea eels. *Te Au-kura* was living on *Mauke* at this time.

Subsequently, Ruatapu and his people returned from the westward from *Tonga*, in quest of *Moenau*. Ruatapu first went to *Avarua*, where he inquired of *Tama-iva*: "Where is *Moenau*?" *Tama-iva* replied, "I have sent him to *Nga-pu-toru* to eat the flying fish of those lands of ours." Ruatapu then exclaimed, "Your brother is dead." The father and his ship's company then went on to *Nga-pu-toru*, in search of *Moenau*, and landed on *Akatoka-manava* (*Mauke*). While they were staying on that island, Ruatapu took notice of a boy there, and asked him about his parentage. The boy said, "I am by *Moenau*." Ruatapu had marked the resemblance, and inquired further, "Where is *Moenau*?" The boy answered: "He was killed with a sea eel snare, at *Avaava-roa*." In reply to Ruatapu's further interrogation, the boy revealed, "I am *Te Au-kura*, *Ariki* of *Mauke-tau*." Ruatapu then made arrangements for slaughtering the *Mauke* people in revenge for *Moenau*'s murder. The plan he hit upon was to cut up the cocoanut trees into logs, which he had carried up on to the high places of the island. Then he fought the *Mauke* people and rolled these logs down on top of them: great numbers were killed with this device.

Leaving his grandson, *Te Au-kura*, to enjoy his *Arikiship* at *Mauke*, Ruatapu and his ship's company crossed over to *Te Enua-*

* Probably *Taputapu-atea* is the place of that name in *Raiatea* Island.—[ED.]

manu (Atiu). Renga was Ariki of that island at the time, and was engaged, along with his people, in trying to make a canoe passage through the reef at Taunga-nui. When Ruatapu reached Atiu, Renga gave this work into his hands to carry out, and agreed to provide Ruatapu and his men with food. The visitors were engaged so long over this undertaking that they consumed all the food of the land, and then taunted Renga for the short supply. The Ariki retorted, "What is Renga to make food out of?" Ruatapu, therefore, abandoned the enterprise; he changed the name of his canoe from "Te Kareroa-ki-te Enua-manu," to "Tueu-moana," and sailed away from Atiu. He reached an island, which he called Manu-enua (the ancient name of Manuae), where he and his ship's company sojourned for a time. He planted a cocoanut which he called Te Tui-a-Rongo, and a flowering shrub,* named by him Te Ara-vaine. They also placed two kinds of birds on the island, the red-plumaged *kura*,† and the *moo*.

Not long after this, Ruatapu resumed his voyage, coming on to Ara-ura (Aitutaki); he landed on the north part of that island, bringing his canoe in through the passage in the reef known as Kopua-onu. They camped on the shingle spit close to the sea shore, where they opened cocoanuts, from that circumstance the place was called "Te Okaokaanga-i-te niu-a-Ruatapu." They then came inland to the lagoon side of the spit, calling their path Kaiunga. An ancient looking flowering shrub at this spot, known as "Te tiare a Ruatapu," is still shown as the one planted by him. Thence the voyagers ascended the highest land in the vicinity (near Maunga-pu), where they erected a "ma" (an altar devoted to the worship of evil spirits), which was called Paenga-Manuiri, while the road leading up to it still bears the flowery appellation of Vai-tiare. They also established at that place their *marae*, called Au-matangi. Ruatapu took up his permanent abode on Aitutaki, marrying a woman of the island named Tutu-noa, by whom he had four sons—the first being Kiri-kava; then followed (literally, climbing up the back) Te Arau-enua; then followed Te Uru-tupu-ariki; then followed Tou-keta. In process of time Ruatapu and his son Kiri-kava made two fishing nets, which led to their estrangement. The father's net was a short one, while that of the son was of considerable length, and trouble arose between them over the amount of fish taken in their respective nets; their family

* *Tiare*, the gardenia.—[ED.]

† The bright scarlet plumes of this bird were much prized in olden times for the native head-dresses, and the Aitutakians made many voyages to Manuae to procure this finery. Some of them being murdered in the attempt, led to the subjugation of the island by the Aitutaki Chief Tupu-Ariki, about 1823.

marae was broken up, and they separated. Kiri-kava took up his residence at Aputu, where he set up his *marae*, but Ruatapu remained at Au-matangi. The son refused any longer to submit to the authority of his father, which eventually led to Ruatapu abandoning that part of the island, and coming to live at Ruatea, on this (the Arutanga) side of the island. Taruia was living at Orongo (in the Arutanga *tapere*, or district), at the time, and Ruatapu sought means whereby to attract the attention of this Ariki. He made a toy canoe of leaves, which he freighted with mucus from his nose, and tears; then set it afloat in the lagoon, where it came under the notice of Taruia, who inquired: "Who is this influential Ariki living at the Upoko-enua?" (the head or north end of the island). Taruia then sent a man to fetch Ruatapu, giving him a message that the chief was not to come by the coast, or he would be devoured by Rongo (the god), but by the mountain, or inland, road. Ruatapu, accordingly, came and dwelt with Taruia, at Orongo.

Some time afterwards, Ruatapu devised a scheme for damming the Rierie Stream at that place, and Taruia set to work to carry it out, but could not stop the water on account of being short-winded; in fact, he got out of breath in the attempt. Taruia then called out to Ruatapu to dam the stream, which the latter accomplished, and the water remained on the land. This performance showed the people that Taruia would be ousted from his position and forced to sea by the superior craft of Ruatapu. The two chiefs lived together for a long time, then Ruatapu suggested to Taruia that they should get their canoes ready for sea, which was accordingly done. Ruatapu said to Taruia, "I will go in advance to Avarua to be ready to welcome you when you get there;" but the latter rejoined, "No, let us both go together." To this Ruatapu would not listen: he started on ahead in his canoe, and when he got to Rau-kuruaka (part of the reef) he purposely let his canoe fill with water. Taruia's canoe came along soon after, and when it drew near Ruatapu called out to the Ariki, "Come here, friend, and help me right my canoe;" but Taruia replied, "You right your own canoe. I will go ahead to Avarua* and prepare for your arrival there." As soon as he was out of sight, Ruatapu righted his canoe and returned to the island; taking up his residence again at Orongo, where he exercised the authority of an Ariki. When Taruia got to Avarua he waited long for Ruatapu, but as that worthy did not arrive Taruia suspected that he had remained at Aitutaki, and usurped the position of Ariki of the land.

When Taruia returned to this island (Aitutaki) from Avarua he landed at Tapu-etuki and called out, "I am Taruia, the rightful

* No doubt this is Avarua at Rarotonga.—[Ed.]

Ariki," but to no purpose. Ruatapu's people arose and opposed him. He then went off to sea again and sailed away to Ra-pukatea* (Penrhyn Island). Ruatapu remained at Aitutaki as Ariki of the island until he died, when his son, Kiri-kava, succeeded him in that position.

From Kiri-kava sprang Maeva-rangi, who begat a son Maeva-kura, who begat a daughter named Maine-marae-rua, who on reaching womanhood went to Rarotonga to woo Tama-iva, whom she desired as her husband; but he was not willing. Maeva-kura was Ariki of this land (Aitutaki) at that time. Maine-marae-rua remained at Rarotonga, where she espoused Te Ii-matatapu, and they had a son, Maro-una. When the latter arrived at maturity he married a woman named Ratia, by whom he had two sons, Tane and Te Tauu-o-te-rangi. About this time a strange tribe named Te Aitu took possession of Aitutaki, and the Ariki Maeva-kura decided to go to Te Rangiatea, while Tu-oa-rangi proceeded to Avarua under these instructions from Maeva, "Go; and if Maine-marae-rua has given birth to a son, let him come here and revenge my discomfiture. Say that Maeva has gone to Te Rangiatea." When Tu-oa-rangi reached Avarua he delivered Maeva's message to Maine-marae-rua, and she communicated it to her son Maro-una, who consented, saying, "A vessel will be fitted out." The mother replied, "O, my son, the fitting out of a vessel will take so long that Maeva's bones will rot on Rangiatea." She added, "You pluck some of the frigate bird's feathers from your head-dress and offer them to Angai-nui for the loan of his canoe." Maro-una did as his mother advised him, and Angai-nui consented, saying, "You can take our (yours and mine) canoe, but let not its name, 'Te Mata-o-te-Koviriviri,' be suppressed." As soon as Maro-una obtained possession of the canoe he commenced forthwith to make war on the land, in order to obtain warriors as a fighting force (for his expedition to Aitutaki); but the only brave he was able to obtain there was his son Tane. He then embarked with his son and crew, sailing to A'ua'u (ancient name of Mangaia) where he, by force of arms, won the warrior Ue to his side. When the warriors and crew disembarked they decorated their canoe with the leaves of the *ti* plant, and for that reason they re-named the canoe "Rau-ti-paraki-A'ua'u." They then sailed away to Te Enuamanu, where they made war, obtaining the brave Tara-apai as the result, whom they shipped, and then shaped their course for Vairekao (ancient name of Niue), where by force another warrior—Titia—was added to their party.

* The main channel leading into the lagoon near the Omoka settlement at Penrhyn is named Tarua after this chief.

Then they came to Ara-ura* to carry out their enterprise. Out at ase two men, Koro-ki-matangi and Koro-ki-vananga, who were following their father Tavake, were met with. Maro-una said to them, "Come and take part in my expedition." They replied, "Go on, we will follow you." Maro-una's canoe reached Ara-ura in the night. They came in (to the lagoon) through one of the reef channels, and anchored the canoe at Vaioara. Maro-una told his braves to rest. He then proceeded to bewitch his enemies, the Te Aitu clan, so that they were overcome with a deep sleep. One of Maro-una's *toas* then went on shore amongst the enemy, and felt the heads of the sleeping Aitu. The heavy heads (being those of fighting men) he cut off, while the lighter ones (being those of women and boys) he spared. He then returned to Maro-una, carrying with him the reeking heads of the Aitu. The leader looked at these bloody trophies, and then decided that the force should land that very night. So they took their canoe in (at Arutanga) and hauled it up the Tangoro Creek, making the water very muddy in so doing—hence the saying when water becomes turbid that it is caused by the feet of Maro-una's warriors. After they had sunk their canoe in a pool up the creek (for safety) they proceeded inland to Maeva's dwelling place. Maro-una looked at Maeva, who enquired, "Who is this?" The former replied, "It is I, Maro-una." Maeva, still doubtful, again enquired, "Who brought Maro-una hither?" The leader said, "Did you not give Tu-ou-rangi a message requesting me to come?" Maeva then knew that it was his grandson Maro-una, and, after weeping over him, he regaled the war party with preserved bread-fruit and cocoanut. When Tara (one of Maro-una's braves) was nearly choked while eating a piece of cocoanut, the rest of the party said that they would attack the Aitu that night; but Maro-una said, "No; wait till our sea-giddiness has passed away, and then attack them." On the third day after that they hurriedly ate a meal of raw food before the dawn, and then fell on the Aitu at sunrise, Maro-una and his braves slaughtering them on the island, while Koro-ki-matangi and Koro-ki-vananga, who were on the reef, killed the fugitives who tried to escape to sea. Maro-una having exterminated the Aitu clan, carried out his great work of dividing Aitutaki into districts by divisional boundaries (which remain to this day). As Ariki he apportioned the land amongst his warriors, Tane, Tara-apai, Ue and Titia, and the ship's company. Maro-una then espoused a woman descended from the great (Aitutaki) ancestor Ru, named Ua-nuku-Kaitai, by whom he had a son, Te Au-kura. The latter married Te Aka-ariki-o-te-rangi, also of Ru lineage, and their

* Ancient name of Aitutaki Island.—[Ed.]

son was the great Tapu-o-Rongo, from whom branched the three lines of ancestors (of the Vaerua-rangi, Tamatoa and Te Uru-kura Ariki families of Aitutaki) from the three wives: Uirei-ariki, Ka-tapu-ki-te-marae and Purei-upoko. (These genealogies have already been published in connection with my paper, "The Story of Iro," which appeared in *JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY*, vol. xii, p. 144.)

[NOTE.—Tararo, Ariki of Mauke, who is a descendant of Ruatapu, writes me that he objects to having any details of his family history or genealogy published, lest his opponents should make use of the information to their advantage and his detriment, in land disputes on that island. I learn from a native of Atiu, living on this island (Mangaia) that one of the Atiu clans is called Ruatapu, but he knows nothing beyond that. Nothing is known about him here.]

TE-ATUA-HAE-ROA AT POVERTY BAY.

SUPPLIED BY THE REV. F. W. CHATTERTON
FROM COL. PORTER'S NOTES.

THE origin of the name arose some seven generations back, i.e., about 175 years ago, and the Maori legend is as follows :—

Peha ane-tonga, son of Tu-mokai, seven generations ago went to the bush to cut a stern piece for his canoe, and unknowingly trespassed on enchanted ground to fell a tree. He had just cut it down when he heard a supernatural laugh : "Ha, ha, ha, !" "*kotore ! kotore !*" The chief Peha was startled, and looking up saw a large full sunlike face grinning and laughing at him from between the fork of a tree. Peha, although frightened, continued undaunted ; shaping his wood until the laughing was repeated all around him from unseen beings ; and chips of the tree were pelted at him. Peha, being a "*Toa*," or warrior, seized a piece of wood, used an incantation as a counterfoil to the spirits, and struck savage blows around with his improvised weapon ; the unseen evil spirit falling at each blow, the only indication being a thud and a groan. Peha then knew that his charm acted, and that his *mana* was in the wood. He then started outwards to the coast, but was still followed by the unearthly laugh "Ha, ha, ha !" and the jeering bodiless head and face first seen, would appear as before in the fork of a tree ; sometimes in front ; at others, left, right, or rear of him. Getting to the rear of him near an old grave yard, Peha for the last time heard the jeering laugh, and saw the head disappear in the ground. Determined upon having satisfaction for the insult, Peha dug at the spot where the head had disappeared, and there found the body of a man standing erect underground. He knew this was a ruse of the spirit to deceive him, so seizing again his enchanted club, he struck the form on the head, which responded with but one "Ha !" and a groan. Peha saying "Aha ! that stops your laugh." He then drew the body out and it changed into the semblance of a man he knew to be living with the members of another neighbouring tribe, to whom he went, and truly found the man living. Peha then related his adventures, and the club of wood was placed away and held sacred ; and was afterwards only used by the chief descendants of Peha's tribe in their intertribal battles, when, owing to the enchanted *mana* of the weapon, the wielder had only to strike random blows and the enemies fell smitten as if by lightning. Hence the club being named "*Te Kotore-o-te-Atua-hae-roa*."



NGATI-AWA IN THE NORTH.

BY A. G. YARBOROUGH.

THE history of Ngati-Awa is interesting but somewhat obscure, and would be well worth following up by students of Maori history in each different locality.

This people appear to have been hard working and industrious, and to have exercised a great deal of ingenuity and skill in building *pās* throughout the north of Auckland. This excess of energy seems in the course of time to have shown a result in placing this people as masters of all the other tribes north of Whangarei and Kaipara Heads. They overran the whole country, and built numerous *pās* in all parts of the Peninsula, and must have been looked upon as the successful conquerors of the tribes who previously occupied that portion of the North Island. Having entered into occupation, having built the only strongholds existing at that time, and being presumably numerically stronger, as a tribe, than any other single tribe amongst their neighbours in Hokianga, it is difficult to understand why, suddenly, within a man's lifetime, their position should have become untenable, and they should have been compelled to abandon their homes and their adopted country in ruin and disgrace. Ten generations ago Ngati-Awa were masters of all Hokianga and the north, and yet by the efforts of one man, Rahiri, they would seem to have become fugitives, from Maunga-nui Bluff to Taheke, on the Upper Hokianga, in a very short space of time.

Maori custom and Maori law would seem to show that a conquering tribe would either treat the conquered as slaves, or as subjects, or in some cases would allow them to reinstate themselves on their land in friendly relationship with the conquerors. The Ngati-Awa appear to have treated the people whom they subdued in a friendly manner, and to have lived amongst the various tribes for a matter of 150 years on terms of equality; at all events they intermarried and many of our principal men can trace their genealogy back to Ngati-Awa although, as there is nothing to be gained by doing so, it is not usual. About ten generations ago Rahiri expelled them from South Hokianga and captured their *pās*. He drove them back through Whirinaki until their power on the south side of the river was broken, although it was not until the time

of Taura-poto, his son, or grandson probably, when he himself was getting old, that they were finally expelled or left. On the north side of the Hokianga river they seem to have lingered on longer, in a part of the country densely wooded and not so thickly populated. On the Manga-muka and Waihou rivers, but along the coast and at Whanga-pe they had already begun to retreat shortly after Rahiri's first capture of the only *pa* existing at that time at Pakanae, called Whiria. At Horeke, on the Waihou, are three *pas*, one of which was occupied by Ngati-Awa, who were not driven out until six generations ago by Rahiri's great grandsons, Taura-tumano and Toma. The migration of Ngati-Awa from Whanga-pe, or a small part of it, came down the Manga-muka to the Island of Motu-iti, where they took refuge, were surrounded and massacred. With the capture of the *pas* at Horeke and Wairere the Ngati-Awa seem to have finally cleared out from the valley of the Hokianga and retreated eastwards, making their way south by the sea coast.

Rahiri evidently was a man of mark, who established such a record, either from his feats of arms in driving out the stronger race of Ngati-Awa, or for some other marked characteristic, that all Nga-Puhi to Hokianga are satisfied to be able to trace their ancestral lines back to him, without going any further back, in laying claim to land. Pakanae, in the old days, appears to have been the centre of disturbance. Rahiri took the Ngati-Awa *pa* there, named Whiria, and the Ngati-Pou drove them off from all the coast line between that place and Maunga-nui Bluff. They themselves, however, were driven away by the Roroa*, and finally had to migrate to Whangaroa. The present occupants of that district are the Roroa and Ngati-Korokoro, while the northern side of the river, near the Heads, is occupied by the Pahitoka. The Ngati-Awa had one, and only one, *pa* at Pakanae, but after Rahiri had taken it his son lost no time in building others, namely—Panitehe, near Motu-toa, and Aotahi, in Pakanae. He also built Wharariki on the north side of the river. It seems more than probable that, when the Ngati-Awa were driven out of Hokianga the remaining tribes awoke to the necessity of building *pas*, and so it is found that Taurapoto, Rahiri's son, is credited with building numerous strongholds up the Waima, while Toma built two at the entrance to the narrows and one at the Kohukohu, where the river divides, thus securing the whole extent of the Manga-muka watershed. In the same way Taura-tumano captured the *pa*, Puke-tutu, from Ngati-Awa, near Horeke, and with the assistance of his brothers, Toma and Kawau, built the two *pas*, Karewa and Tutehe. Hence it comes that no native in all the

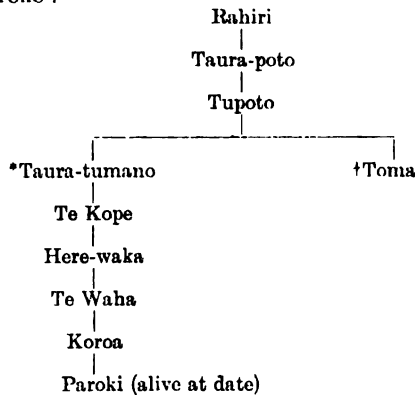
north-eastern portion of the Hokianga district has any occasion to trace his ancestors back beyond Taura-tumano and Toma, grandsons of Rahiri ; who effectively occupied all that country.

A Maori tribe conquered by a Maori tribe has usually to put up with very hard times, if they were not indeed massacred to a man ; but surely the fate of the Ngati-Awa was particularly lamentable. They could scarcely be called a tribe ; they were a people who occupied a large and varied country, and were evidently complete masters of it until—something happened. What ? We don't know. But we do know that what appeared to be a sort of instinctive determination to resist this dominant race set in. It may have been commenced by Rahiri, but the revolt spread northwards through Whanga-pe, eastwards to Te Taheke, and north-eastward to Utakura, and the Ngati-Awa soon found themselves despoiled of their land and their strongholds, and fleeing to save their lives. The ultimate result was that they were termed dogs, and their bones considered undeserving of a resting place. They were piled into creek beds and placed in heaps in rocky places, and received no honour. There are literally hundreds of such places in Hokianga, where superstitious natives have been so unsuperstitious where Ngati-Awa was concerned, that cultivations have lapped over into the very resting places of the bones, and if you ask why this is so, your Maori friend will tell you that these are only the remains of Ngati-Awa, " which we treat as we do the remains of a cow or any other beast."

Sic transit gloria mundi.

*Sub-tribe of Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara.

The following is the genealogy of Paroki, aged about 65, now living at Horeke :---



*Ancestor of all those claiming land on north-east side of Hokianga from Narrows upward.

†Ancestor of all those claiming land from Narrows upward in Hokianga north, including Manga-inuka and part of Manga-nui-o-wae..



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS. POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

THE Council met at New Plymouth on Monday, 5th November, 1906.

Present: S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S., President in the Chair, and Messrs. W. Kerr, W. Fraser, W. L. Newman and Skinner.

Correspondence and accounts were dealt with and passed.

A. Cooke Yarborough, Esq., Kohukohu, Hokiaunga, was elected a member of the Society.

The following list of exchanges, books, etc., was read:—

- 1990** *Proceedings, Cambridge Philosophical Society.* Vol. xiii., part 5.
1991-4 *Antikvarisk Tidskrift for Sverige.* Vol. xiii.—1, 3, 4, xviii.—1.
1995 *Bureau, American Ethnology.* 23rd Annual Report.
1996-2005 *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. 1. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; extra No. vol. ii, Nos. 1, 2, 3.
2006-14 *Memoirs, Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. 1. Nos. 1 to 9.
2015-16 *Transactions, The Japanese Society.* Vol. vi., contents, etc. Vol., vii., part 1.
2017-19 *La Géographie.* Vol. xii. Nos. 4, 5, 6.
2020-6 *Proceedings, Royal Society of Edinburgh.* Vols. xxiv.; xxv., part 1; xxvi., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.
2027 *Bulletin, Société Neuchateloise de Géographie.* Vol. xvi.
2028 *Bulletin, Société D'Anthropologie de Paris.* Vol. 16, No. 3.
2029-31 *The American Antiquarian.* Vol. xxviii., Nos. 2, 3, 4.
2032 *Transactions, New Zealand Institute.* Vol. xxxviii.
2033 *Journal, American Oriental Society.* Vol. xxvii, part No. 1.
2034 *Proceedings, Royal Geographical Society of Australasia—*
South Australian branch. Vol. viii.
2035-39 *The Geographical Journal.* Vol. xxvii, Nos. 5 and 6; vol. xxvii., 1, 2, 3.
2040-44 *Na Mata.* June to September, 1906.
2045-46 *Achivio, Società Italiana D'Anthropologia.* Vol. xxxv., No. 3; vol. xxxvi, No. 1.

- 2047-50** *Reoue, L'Ecole D'Anthropologie de Paris.* Vol. xvi., Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7.
- 2051** *Records, Australian Museum.* Vol. vi., No. 3.
- 2052** *Memoirs Australian Museum.* Vol. iv., No. 9.
- 2053-60** *Memoiras, Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona.* Vol. v., Nos. 19 to 27.
- 2061** *Journal, Anthropological Institute.* Great Britain. Vol. xxxv., No. 2.
- 2062** *Mittheilungen, Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, in Vien.* Vol. xxxvi., Nos. 3 and 4.
- 2063** *The Public Library, Melbourne, The Book of.* 1906.
- 2064** " " " *Presidential Address.* 1906.
- 2065** " " " *Catalogue of Old and Rare Works.* 1906.
- 2066** *The Public Library, Melbourne, Report of Trustees.* 1905.
- 2067-9** *Journal, Royal Colonial Institute.* Vol. xxxvii. Nos. 6, 7, 8.
- 2070-71** *Occasional Papers, Bernice Pauahi, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.* Vol. ii., No. 4; vol. iv., No. 1.
- 2072** *Hawaiian Historical Society: The Archives of Hawaii, etc.* No. 13.
- 2073** *The Butterflies of Montana, University of Montana Bulletin.*
- 2074** *Journal, Society of Arts, London.* Vol. liv.
- 2075** *Studies in Moro History, etc., Ethnological Survey of Philippine.* Vol. iv., No. 1.
- 2076** *The Nabaloi Dialect, etc.* Vol. 2, Nos. 2 and 3.
- 2077** *Colonial Museum, New Zealand Bulletins.* No. 1, 1905.
- 2078** *De Java-oorlog, 1825-30.* Bataviaasch, Genootschap, 1905.
- 2079** *Tijdschrift.* Bataviaasch Genootschap. Vol. xlviii., No. 5.
- 2080** *Notulen.* Bataviaasch, Genootschap. Vol. xliii, No. 5.
- 2081** *Rapporten. Commise in Nederlandsche - Inde.* Bataviaasch Genootschap, 1904.
- 2082** *Brijdragen, Koninklijk Instituut, The Hague.* Vol. lix.
- 2083** *Bureau American Ethnology — Haida Texts and Myths.* Bulletin 29. 1905.
- 2084** *Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution for 1904.*

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